DOMESTIC LABOR AND WELLBEING: THE "*EVLATLIK*" INSTITUTION IN TURKEY

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the wellbeing implications of the *evlatlık* institution in Turkey. *Evlatlık* is an understudied form of unpaid domestic labor performed by a live-in young girl in the household of a family to whom she bears no biological relationship, and the person who performs this domestic labor is called an *evlatlık* in the context of Turkey, which is the diminutive of the word "child." While the institution is invisible in labor force statistics, it also exists, and in some cases, is quite prevalent in many countries around the world. It emerges in the context of poverty and is a response to the intersection of the needs of poor and vulnerable households with the interests and needs of people who want to show goodwill and do a good deed under the status of "quasi-adoption."

Much of the focus of feminist economics scholarship on domestic labor has been on unpaid labor by family members or the labor of paid domestic workers. Studies have examined the invisibility of unpaid labor in economic accounting and the poor working conditions and treatment of domestic workers. In the literature on poverty, assessment of changes in poverty levels or wellbeing tends to rely on the income yardstick. This dissertation adopts the capabilities approach developed by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen to construct an evaluation framework. The data come from primary research conducted by the author in Turkey from 2004 to 2005. A key source of data is interviews with 22 former *evlatlıks*.

The main finding is that only 3 participants out of 22 described an increased overall wellbeing as a result of their experiences as an *evlatlık*. Nineteen participants carry deep emotional scars, which have hampered their overall wellbeing. They faced significant loss of self-esteem and dignity, absence of positive feelings, lack of autonomy, lack of trust and belonging, and lack of competence and prolonged social support. There is, however, some intergenerational expansion in capabilities. If the capabilities approach is meant to assist in developing policy recommendations that benefit all women and girls from diverse backgrounds, then the process and outcomes of wellbeing have to target the emotional wellbeing of individual people and society.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Unpaid domestic labor is an important source of family livelihood, complementing or substituting for economic activities that involve provisioning through markets. Historically, economics has neglected the analysis of unpaid domestic labor, ignoring the contribution of this form of work as an economic activity that is highly interdependent with wage labor. Feminist economists have long been critical of the invisibility of unpaid work in economics and in standard measures of economic wellbeing, and have sought to remedy these shortcomings through scholarly research that highlights the importance and wide-ranging implications of unpaid domestic labor. Much of the focus on this scholarship has been on unpaid labor by family members, whether on farms and family enterprises or in the household in care activities. Yet both the extent of reliance on unpaid domestic labor and the forms it takes vary by the level of capitalist development and by region.

This dissertation investigates an understudied form of unpaid domestic labor performed by a young live-in girl in the household of a family to whom she bears no familial relationship. The person who performs this domestic labor is called an *evlatlık* in the context of Turkey, a word that can be translated imperfectly as the diminutive of the word child (*evlat*). While the prevalence of the evlatlık institution in Turkey has declined in the last few decades, the institution appears to have been widespread during the late

Ottoman period (the nineteenth century until 1920) and much of the twentieth century Turkish Republic. The institution also exists, and in some cases is quite prevalent, in many countries around the world.

Based on primary research in 2004–2005, this dissertation examines the wellbeing implications of the evlatlık institution for the evlatlıks. The main question is the extent to which the institution contributes to its goals of wellbeing promotion for the evlatlıks while fulfilling the reproductive labor needs of urban middle-class and poor rural families. The main evaluative framework is derived from the capabilities approach of Martha Nussbaum, Amartya Sen, and Ingrid Robeyns. Data come from primary research I conducted in Turkey in 2004–2005. A key source of data is interviews with 22 former evlatlıks.

From the perspective of the rich or the middle-class, the evlatlık institution is a form of philanthropy. Philanthrocapitalism,[1] as the most recent form of philanthropy under capitalism has been termed, has become a means of redemption for the rich, even though the philanthropic act has been around as long as poverty. Since the evlatlık phenomenon emerges from the needs of poor and/or vulnerable households converging with the interests of philanthropic people, it resembles a microcosm for philanthrocapitalism. The evlatlık institution in Turkey emerged from the culture of goodwill (*hayırseverlik*), associated with the Islamic faith, which took shape within the Ottoman Empire. The origins of the institution in the Ottoman period comprise the

[1] Michael Kinsley's book *Creative Capitalism*, and *Philanthrocapitalism* by Matthew Bishop and Michael Green, favor the idea of "capitalism saving itself."

"quasi-adoption" [2] of mostly orphan and/or poor peasant girls who are brought into upper- and middle-class households. The arrangement emerges under the pretext of goodwill. Although evlatlıks are brought into their new homes under the pretext of extending "charity" and "protection," the central aspect of this arrangement is the performance of domestic labor starting at the age of five or six until marriage.

After the dismantling of the Ottoman institutions, the structural shift of social and economic processes worked hand in hand to facilitate the continuation of this informal domestic labor relation through the years in the Turkish Republic. For the burgeoning middle class, the evlatlık institution was a new source of domestic labor, where paid domestic labor was scarce, and for poor, rural families, it was a new opportunity to reduce the burden of securing the livelihood of family members. Since this form of labor is invisible in statistical records and very limited research exists on its workings, whether evlatlıks experience upward or downward mobility through this institution can only be comprehended by intimately understanding each story. As a whole, these stories provide lessons about the relationship between unpaid domestic labor and poverty. While evlatlıks are distinct from legally adopted children, they are given familial attributes. They reside with their quasi-adoptive families, and their basic material needs are provisioned by the quasi-adoptive family under the pretext of "charity" and "protection." A central aspect of this arrangement is the performance of domestic work from the age of five or six until marriage. This arrangement emerges under the pretext of philanthropy,

[2] The phrase "quasi-adoption" is used to distinguish between the status of evlatlıks and legally adopted children, who acquire the legal rights, such as inheritance rights, of biological children. Evlatlıks are not legally adopted at the time of arrival to the quasi-adoptive family.

considered by the families as an act of goodwill. This study, by soliciting evlatlıks' perspectives, assesses wellbeing in three stages of their lives.

Unpaid domestic labor will exist as long as reproduction of labor power is necessary to sustain the material needs of life, driving people to seek nonmarket ways of fulfilling their needs when the formal labor market does not fulfill those needs itself. The contemporary form of the institution is heavily influenced by its past, and has been particularly shaped by the twentieth-century Turkish family structure. Philanthropy is one of the motivating factors driving families to bring evlatlıks into their middle- or upper-middle-class households, a practice that also serves to satisfy their reproductive needs as well as the reproductive needs of rural households. In this dissertation, I refer to the middle- and upper-class households that take in young girls as the "pseudo-families" of the evlatlıks; the families the evlatlıks were born into as their "biological families," and the families they form after they get married as their own families. For lower-class, rural households, supplying female children as domestic laborers is a coping mechanism for the poverty and vulnerability these households experience. The focus on philanthropy (*hayırseverlik*)[3] provides important insights into understanding poverty and domestic labor within the Turkish context. The main point emerging from this study is that in order for the philanthropic act to increase wellbeing, attention has to focus on expanding the capabilities of evlatlıks in a manner that is integral to the living and working conditions of the evlatlık in her pseudo-household. In the few cases where former evlatlıks indicated that their capabilities were enhanced, exchange and/or reciprocal relations between the

[3] In the case of evlatlıks, such an act may be perceived as an informal social security mechanism.

rural households and urban households fulfilled the reproductive needs for both households as well as enabling capability expansion. People and institutions often voluntarily embark on efforts to build the capabilities of people and societies in order to make up for the inequalities and injustices created by the capitalist system. However, these philanthropic endeavors frequently do not achieve that aim.

In the Mediterranean region where fieldwork for this study was conducted in 2005, 26% of households were nonnuclear households. It is possible that such households were (and may still be) potential pseudo-households for evlatlıks. In fact, 15 of the 22 participants in the study reported that they had an extended family member—a grandmother or grandfather, or an unmarried uncle or aunt—living in the pseudo-household.

This dissertation examines the role of unpaid domestic labor in poverty alleviation or intensification for the evlatlık. The capabilities approach is used as a framework to understand whether the particular form of unpaid domestic labor, the evlatlık institution, alleviates human poverty or not. In following the capabilities approach, poverty is conceptualized in terms of human poverty—in terms of capability deprivations—rather than solely income poverty. The stories generated through interviews focus on whether the evlatlık institution has contributed to poverty alleviation or intensification. Although feminist research has produced a large body of literature over the past decades on the subject of paid domestic servants and unpaid domestic labor by family members, there is little or no scholarly attention to unpaid live-in domestic workers. This form of domestic labor is prevalent in many developing countries, such as Nepal, Haiti, India, Brazil, Argentina, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, and in every region of the world, pointing to the critical

need for understanding the effects of this practice on individuals and societies. Understanding and measuring the impacts of different forms of domestic labor requires alternative tools and measures of poverty.

Income-based poverty measures, while insufficient on their own, are complementary to the evaluation of capabilities development. Income is needed for people to do what they value doing and becoming, by which they achieve a combination of capabilities. Different doings and beings bring people fulfillment and satisfaction. People flourish more as they figure out and achieve the missing dimensions of their lives. However, wellbeing is more than material gain. One of the ways to measure wellbeing is the capabilities approach (CA). The CA focuses not on happiness, pleasure, or utility, but ordinary, day-to-day life activities. This approach explores personal and social activities that support individual achievements. Times of wellbeing and ill-being can both be found in an individual's life cycle.

Population censuses provide negligible statistical evidence on the extent of the evlatlık institution during the late nineteenth century to early twentieth century in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic. Thus, the development of the evlatlık institution is difficult to trace since relationships between pseudo-families and evlatlıks' own families are not formalized. There is no statistical category for the evlatlık practice in the labor force or household statistics.

One contribution of this study is that it introduces the evlatlık institution into the larger discussion of the role of unpaid domestic labor in capitalist development. Historically, economists have not considered domestic labor as "economic activity," perceiving it instead as a "social activity." One of the major challenges feminist

economists have presented to mainstream economists is the argument that unpaid activities that are aimed at provisioning for human beings' needs are an integral part of economic relations and cannot be separated from a discussion of economic activity. The evlatlık institution is hidden in the public sphere of social relations,[4] yet it is part of the continuum of economic activities. Importantly, this institution is not extinct. In fact, I was able to identify new participants after completing the fieldwork in 2005. Moreover, similar practices are prevalent around the world. Understanding why such practices emerge and disappear requires that we explore the dynamics of poverty, livelihood strategies, coping strategies, and poverty reduction, while cultivating an understanding of the role of unpaid work in the reproduction of class relations. People find, create, and recreate different mechanisms by which to cope with the obstacles they face in their daily lives. These informal labor markets emerge in diverse locations—in a little town in Turkey, or in New York City. The informal labor supply is, in most cases, provided by those who come from poor and/or vulnerable populations. Existing socioeconomic relations create opportunities for informal labor relations either inside or outside the household.

[4] The concept of social relations has been studied by numerous sociologists and philosophers such as Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Vilfredo Pareto, Karl Marx, and Talcott Parsons. There is no common definition for social relations. The concept can be understood, observed, and studied through different levels of human awareness. According to the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, human awareness can be *conscious subjective awareness*, referring to the inner world studied in phenomenology and general psychology; *intersubjective* (commonsense) *awareness*, cultivated by association with other people studying social psychology and sociology; *objective awareness*, involving the world that exists independent of the mind; *reality transforming awareness*, involving interaction between different forms of awareness, since one type can be a precursor for another within work, play, love, activism, or politics; *transcendent awareness,* which goes beyond knowledge and experience, as studied in relation to intuition and spirituality; and *subconscious awareness*, studied by Freud, Jung, and Erickson.

Globally, informalization of labor markets is strongly associated with the implementation of neoliberal economic policies since the early 1980s. Since the establishment of modern Turkey 1923, the female labor force has been shaped in many ways. Structural transformation from agriculture to industry and urban migration deeply affected the composition of the labor force from the 1950s onward. With the shift from agriculture to manufacturing, female labor force participation started to decline because female agricultural workers could not participate in the urban labor force. The majority of urban women were housewives. After migration, rural women became housewives or engaged in informal jobs. Rural women dominated agricultural employment until the late 1980s (77% of the agricultural labor force was women). In the late 2000s, it dropped to 42% (Özsoy & Atmala, 2009).

The main finding of this study is that the majority of participants did not experience an increase in their wellbeing: Only 3 participants out of 22 described an increased overall wellbeing as a result of their experiences as evlatlıks. Most of the other participants' stories offered either mixed results or indicated that they experienced capabilities deprivations during their years as evlatlıks. The majority of the evlatlıks' lives in their pseudo-households caused them significant loss of self-esteem and dignity, absence of positive feelings, lack of autonomy, lack of trust and belonging, lack of competence, and lack of prolonged social support. There is, however, some intergenerational expansion in capabilities. Evlatlıks' stories reveal the complexity of achieving or failing to achieve different functionings. Some participants in the study explained that they had to endure oppression and deprivation of some functionings in order to form their capabilities set. Almost all of the participants endured disturbing

treatment, including psychological and emotional violence as well as discrimination. For instance, in order to finish their primary education or literacy courses, they had to endure negative emotions and harsh treatment in everyday life.

Although the children of the evlatlıks were not part of the study, almost all of the participants talked about their children. Some of the evlatlıks reported very positive developments in their children's lives due to highly targeted support from the pseudo-families. Overall, however, the results suggest that charity and good intentions cannot provide sustained progress for the wellbeing of the poor, unless these intentions focus on promoting poor people's functioning and capabilities.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Domestic Workers in the World Economy

In the late twentieth century, a major trend across countries has been the rise in women's labor force participation. This entry of middle-class women into the workforce raised demand for paid household work. Thus, the anatomy of domestic labor changed around the world. However, the provision of unpaid, live-in domestic work by nonfamily members still existed in households around the world, making it a viable alternative for an increasing number of households. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, affluent women and men were no longer able or willing to do household work or even raise their children and take care of the elderly or sick, causing them to turn to nonfamily domestic workers. Nevertheless, wages of domestic workers have remained low. While the international movement of domestic workers can be perceived as a narrative of one group needing help to provide wages for the households, and the other needing livelihoods (Ehrenrich & Hochschild, 2002), it is not that simple. A number of recent case studies have emphasized the complexities of these arrangements, which are mostly informal. A major focus of these studies is the informality of the arrangements and the implications of informality on the conditions of domestic work, always with high costs for domestic workers. Another serious issue is that those who work as paid domestic laborers outside their own households and in overseas countries may have their own children, and their

own elderly or sick parents, who need care.

Although these case studies focus on paid domestic labor (in contrast to this study), many similarities exist in regards to the informal nature of the arrangements and the conditions of work. Domestic laborers as a whole are all faced with exclusions from privileges other societal members benefit from, and their personhood is undervalued in similar ways.

Many contemporary strategies observed in developing countries had their precedents in the history of what are now advanced capitalist countries. Employing domestic servants was an important class-status characteristic both in Great Britain during the Victorian era and in the post-Civil War era in the later half of the nineteenth century in the United States. Live-in domestic workers were common in both of those contexts, and in large households, there were generally multiple domestic servants. Girls and women, especially from rural origins, did not have many other options for work. In the late twentieth century, the entry of middle-class women into the workforce raised the demand for paid household work. Thus, the anatomy of domestic labor changed. Live-in domestic workers were also common during Ottoman rule in Turkey. Özbay (1999), who emphasizes the abundance of servant stories in fiction and historical writings, reports estimates of one and a half million servants in the country in 1851. According to her source, there were 52,000 domestic slaves and about 40,000 free servants in Istanbul. She explains, "Successive attempts to ban the slave trade were effective in reducing the number of slaves by the end of the nineteenth century. Orphan and/or poor peasant girls who were taken into urban middle class households in the name of 'protection' and 'goodwill' gradually replaced the former domestic slaves" (p. 3). Several questions arise

here: Why did middle-class households want to protect female children? Did they really protect them, or did they primarily use them for their domestic labor needs? Why weren't these girls hired as paid domestic servants instead?

Since the late twentieth century, domestic workers[5] have found employment in big business centers in mega cities as office cleaners, as well as finding jobs in private households. If they work as office cleaners, in most cases, they have to supplement their income through cleaning jobs in private households. They end up working extensive hours after their regular jobs as well as on weekends. As mentioned earlier, major cities around the world such as New York City, Los Angeles, London, Madrid, Paris, Amsterdam, Istanbul, Rome, Hong Kong, Riyad, Bahrain, and Sao Paulo are places that attract numerous wealthy persons and families (Ehrenrich & Hochschild, 2003). As many as 800,000 domestic workers are estimated to live and work in New York City Domestic Workers' Union (DWU).[6]A study conducted by Social Alert (2001)[7] estimates that there are 1.2 million migrant domestic workers in the Gulf states. There are over 20,000 indentured domestic workers in Nepal. Aside from labor exploitation, these girls and women suffer from sexual abuse, rape, physical torture, starvation, and lack of education,

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[5] "Domestic services have become one of the fastest-growing businesses in U.S. and Britain. There are three reasons for this: growing inequality; the growing number of women in the workforce, which increases the demand for services that substitute for housework; and the longer hours being worked by higher-paid professionals. It is quite possible that the skills required by a domestic employee—unlike those done by lawyers and accountants that could be carried out by computer—could become increasingly valuable in coming years" (*The Economist*, 1998, p. 20).

[6] DWU is a New-York-based workers union. Its objective is to promote and protect domestic workers' rights at the local level.

[7] Social Alert is an international nongovernmental organization (NGO), a coalition of different international social and workers' organizations with direct contacts in the European Union (EU) and UN bodies. Its main purpose is to provide concerted responses to infringements of social, economic, and cultural rights and to increase awareness of these threats, so that pressure can be brought to different levels of government both nationally and internationally.

and there are many cases of girls being trafficked for prostitution both in Nepal and to India." Domestic labor is also a form of child labor. According to International Labor Organization (ILO) (2004), there are millions of child domestic workers around the world, primarily girls under 16 years of age. The accounts of domestic laborers and those who rely on domestic laborers reflect conflicting perspectives, especially on questions of what constitutes women's liberation (Ehrenrich & Hochschild, 2003).

A number of recent case studies focus on the complexities of these arrangements. Numerous studies compare and contrast what happens in both international (migrant) and national cases by discussing case studies that have been conducted on live-in and live-out paid domestic workers in places as varied as Canada (Silvera, 1983); Boston (Rollings, 1985), Los Angeles (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001), Malaysia (Chin, 1998), Los Angeles (Parrenas, 2001), and Europe (Anderson, 2000). A major focus of these studies is the informality of the arrangements and the implications of informality about the conditions of work. Although these cases examine instances of paid domestic labor in contrast to the current study, which deals with unpaid domestic work performed by nonfamily members, there are many similarities in the informal nature of the arrangements and conditions of work to the current study, which makes it useful to consider these cases. There are differences between paid and unpaid forms of domestic labor performed by nonfamily members, and these cases aid in more clearly outlining theoretical and empirical differentiations between these different forms of domestic work.

In comparison with international migrants, local domestic workers do not attract much attention. Historically, domestic laborers have been a significant part of middle-class, upper-middle class, and wealthy families' households, tending to their daily

maintenance and wellbeing. Domestic workers not only come from the lower class but also historically from "lower" races, ethnicities, and/or nationalities (Rollins, 1985). Together with class and patriarchal culture, race, ethnicity, and nationality are significant in the conceptualization of domestic labor (Anderson, 2000). In India, 91% of the country's 450 million women work in the "unorganized sector" in agriculture, as construction workers, as casual laborers, and as domestic workers. It is estimated that almost 20 million women, children, and men are engaged in domestic work within the country; 92% of them are women, girls, and boys; 20% are under the age of fourteen; and 25% are between the ages of fifteen and twenty. It is estimated that there are about 600,000 such workers in Mumbai (Social Alert, 2001, p. 20). Many of these domestic workers in India work as unpaid laborers, only receiving room and board. Therefore, they hardly have the means by which to escape the status quo conditions in which they live. In South Africa, domestic workers are the legacy of the apartheid system. While there are migrant domestic workers in Africa, locals are more commonly observed in that role. Even in less wealthy nations, in Africa and other parts of the world, it is often common to employ somebody of a lower class to handle domestic chores. Poverty, lack of access to schooling, and failure of development policies are several major factors that contribute to vulnerability and willingness to take on informal domestic work. Children are especially vulnerable. In Senegal, which has a population of 10 million, in 1998 there were 88,000 recorded domestic workers (Social Alert, 2001). Of this total, 70–85% were migrants from rural areas, mainly girls. In Haiti, in Port-au-Prince alone, there are an estimated 40,000 *restaveks* (child domestic workers), two-thirds of whom are girls (Anti-Slavery Society, 2000).

In an oral history of live-in domestic workers in Canada, including nine black and one West Indian woman from Guyana, Silvera (1983) advocates for unionization and joining existing unions. She recommends protective laws at the local and federal levels. Another researcher who explores class and race crossroads is Judith Rollins (1985). Rollins conducted research by working as an undercover domestic worker in the south and northeast United States, and her work explores how class and race inform female-female relations. Her primary question is whether economic change is the most fundamental aspect of change that fosters a more just society. Chin (1998), as a political scientist, explores the relationship between domestic service and a nation's development path in general. In her work, she focuses on the role of domestic and foreign domestic workers in Malaysia's modernization and industrialization process. Parrenas (2001) studies migratory processes in post-structural theories of humanities, using survey and interview methods to collect data from 222 Filipino domestic workers in Rome and interviews 26 in Rome as well as 48 in Los Angeles, some of whom had high education levels while others only had primary education. Anderson's (2000) comparative study uses empirical evidence from five European cities: Athens, Barcelona, Bologna, Berlin, and Paris, collected in 1995 and 1996. She collected data from employment agency files and also conducted some interviews, testing the hypothesis that workers' immigration status (i.e., their relation to states and their relation to employers, in terms of live-in or live-out status) are key variables in determining working and living conditions. In her work, she identifies different constructions of domestic laborers—the nature and the obligations of the unpaid work of the housewife, mother, or daughter is significantly different than the work done by the nanny or maid, in terms of *property in the person*

(using personhood rather than her labor power). Hondagneu-Sotelo (2001) studied Latin American immigrant domestic workers in Los Angeles, interviewing 37 employers and 33 employees, collecting 122 surveys, and researching labor laws and legislation. Meagher (2003) studied paid domestic workers in Australia, interviewing 50 paid domestic workers in the labor market whom she contacted via agencies. Almost all of the studies on domestic work, either paid or unpaid, emphasize dramatic power imbalances between the workers and employers.

Historically, women have been associated with domestic work as mothers, sisters, daughters, aunts, and wives. Cleaning; cooking; raising children; and taking care of families, relatives, and entire households have long been women's responsibility. Interactions between different modes of production and patriarchal culture have kept women and men's responsibilities separate. As production processes moved outside of the household, work inside and outside of the household became much more dichotomized. Employment and labor laws further exacerbated this demarcation. Women (and men as well) from lower classes, or from races and ethnicities with a lower status, increasingly found themselves working as servants and maids—or, worse, as slaves in wealthy households in North America and Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The lack of comprehensive statistics makes precise study of these trends difficult, but during the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, domestic labor became a relatively invisible activity. In the twentieth century, changing developmental patterns within and between countries transformed the gender composition of the labor force, and thus, substantial shifts occurred in domestic labor responsibilities. Upper- and upper-middle-class women passed on their domestic

responsibilities to lower-class women from subordinated race, ethnic, or national groups. A complex web of reciprocal effects within and between countries still contributes to this transformation. Currently, it is possible to find unpaid or meagerly paid live-in domestic workers in North America. Likewise, the evlatlık practice and similar phenomena are still occurring in various parts of the world today. Nevertheless, housewives are the primary group referenced in discussions of unpaid, live-in domestic labor—an example of the invisible unpaid domestic labor.

Capitalist development that brought the separation of production and reproduction sites and the industrialization process introduced new norms into the lives and work of people around the world. The "male breadwinner"[8] concept pushed woman into the "housewife" role, as unpaid domestic laborers (Coontz, 2005). The male breadwinner, even today, is welcomed by some groups as supportive of "family values" and resented by others, while economic crises increasingly require dual earners. Also, young girls and women who do not have opportunities in education and vocational training commonly find themselves working as maids or servants who perform cleaning, cooking, and washing tasks as well as caring for children, elderly people, and the sick. Vulnerable and poor families have found a variety of coping mechanisms for addressing hardship and stress. Such mechanisms often assign very different kinds of work and functions to women in relation to men, and to girls in relation to boys, within families and households.

[8] According to Stephanie Coontz (2005), the "male breadwinner" emerged from the 1880s to the 1950s as men moved from farming to manufacturing and from rural to urban occupations, and from the 1950s to the early 1970s through the expansion of higher education. The system transformed women's roles from independent family farmers to dependent wives. They depended on marriage, strengthened by their lack of access to living-wage jobs, and expected to marry young and then spend the majority of their lives married and raising children.

Scott and Tilly (1987) emphasize the importance of shared values within the collective commitment to economic survival, stating, "If we want to understand how and under what conditions women worked, it seems advisable to examine family economic strategies" (p. 7). As mentioned domestic workers find employment as office cleaners in big business centers in mega cities, as well as in private households. If domestic workers work as office cleaners, they typically have to supplement their income through cleaning jobs in private households. These workers end up working extensive hours after their regular jobs, including on weekends. Scott and Tilly (1998) argue,

> Domestic services have become one of the fastest-growing businesses in the U.S. and Britain. There are three reasons for this: growing inequality; the growing number of women in the workforce, which increases the demand for services that substitute for housework; and the longer hours being worked by higher-paid professionals. It is quite possible that the skills required by a domestic employee—unlike those done by lawyers and accountants that could be carried out by computer—could become increasingly valuable in coming years. (p. 20)

By and large, two contradictory paths can be identified: 1) women's formal and informal labor force participation has been increasing without a decrease in their unpaid domestic labor time. Time use data have shown that women still spend more time on unpaid domestic work then men do (Budlender, 2007; Charmes, 2006; Ironmonger, 2003; UNIFEM, 2000; UNSD, 2005), and 2) as one group of women that increases participation in the labor force receives better wages and occupational categories, another group of women enters the informal labor force as domestic laborers, often in unfavorable conditions. Domestic labor continues to be viewed as the "natural" female responsibility, providing "supplementary," "unskilled" work. It has been the same in the case of Turkey for decades if not centuries.

Domestic Work and Workers in Turkey

Similar to most societies, in Turkey, housewives as well as other female members of households have always been the default domestic labor providers. Given the economic background of households, certain tasks such as laundry, cleaning, and cooking have been provided by unpaid domestic workers. A gradual rise in urban female labor force participation, as well as the doorman (*kapıcı*) institution in urban Turkey, have contributed to the emergence of the contemporary informal market for paid domestic service since the 1960s (Bora 2006; Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2000; Özyeğin, 2001).

Most adult domestic workers start as child domestic workers. According to the 2000 Population Census, there were 67.8 million people living in Turkey. Of this total, 33.4 million were females, and 25.6 million were over twelve years of age. The female labor force consisted of 6 million women (with a female labor force participation rate of 25.5% in 2000). The female population that was out of the labor force was 19.6 million, and these women constitute potential domestic workers. Of course, this figure includes 6.5 million secondary and tertiary school age girls (the 10- to 19-years-old age group), who are most likely to engage in unpaid labor, particularly those who are members of lower- and lower-middle-class households. Since the secondary female enrollment ratio was 48% and there were 500,000 married girls in this age group (between the ages of 12 and 19), it can be estimated that at least 13 million women are potential unpaid domestic laborers of any kind mentioned in the typology of domestic work in chapter 3. Girls under twelve years of age can also be included in this group, depending on the school enrollment ratios. Therefore, there may be over 13 million potential or actual unpaid or

paid domestic workers in Turkey. Of course, these 13 million women do not come from the same social class background. Some of them are middle-class housewives who are not in the labor force, some are upper-class or ultra-rich, and some are poor. Middle- and upper-middle-class women usually benefit from the labor of domestic workers via informal markets. If there were a way to fit all of these women into the categories identified above, a table showing "care demographics" for Turkey could be presented. The statistics exist, and it is possible to generate these numbers.

In an exploration of detailed occupational statistics for Turkey, ILO presents the most comprehensive data, covering 1980, 1985, and 1990 (ILO, 2005). There are two categories that would be identified as domestic laborer: 1) maids and related work, and 2) housekeeping and related service supervisors. These statistics do not tell us much about paid workers who find jobs through informal arrangements, and who are therefore left out of the formal statistics. In formal occupational statistics, undercounting definitely occurs. According to the 1990 Turkish State Institute of Statistics database on occupational classification, 30,036 persons are recorded as daily cleaners, servants, housekeepers, and related service providers in the 12-years-and-over age bracket in Turkey. Of this number, 22,076 are women and girls. Most of these workers expected to be in formal service jobs such as hotel and office work.

According to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (2007), children in Turkey are the largest demographic group, with a total of 27 million people under 19 years of age that represents 36% of the total population. This figure is 28% and 9% for 15-years-and-under and 5-years-and-under, respectively. The proportion of children is expected to decrease slightly to 33% by 2015.

It is now relatively easier to trace child laborers through formal statistics. However, it remains a challenge to figure out the nonfamily members of the households. According to the latest Turkish child labor survey (1999), "working children" is defined as children who are either engaged in economic activities or domestic chores (Turkish State Institute of Statistics, 2000). According to the survey, 1.6 million children between the ages of 6 and 17 years of age are economically active. Most of these children are involved in the informal urban economy, seasonal agricultural work, and domestic labor. The latter case involves mainly girls.

Those who take care of the domestic chores within their own household (comprised of relatives) or nonfamily households (comprised of nonrelatives) usually become stuck in this situation, especially when they lack schooling and access to vocational opportunities. In 1999, 12.8% of children engaged in domestic chores were not found at school. This proportion is higher for girls than for boys, at 16.9% and 3.6%, respectively. Total differences between urban and rural populations are not sizeable, but again, differences for girls and boys in urban and rural areas are noteworthy. In the 6–17-year age category, there are 16.1 million children. Of these, 4.8 million are engaged in domestic work, with girls making up 3.5 million of this total. Of this total, 41% is children between 6–11 years of age. Given these statistics, unpaid labor is more likely to be performed by relatives. Using the same data, Tunalı (2000) examined the case of non-relative children domestic workers and found that their numbers were insignificant, noting that there are just 400–500 children in this category. Ertürk and Dayıoğlu (2002) explored this category via demographic and health surveys. According to their questionnaire comparison of census, labor force surveys, and Demographic Health

Surveys (DHS), DHS has the most detailed categories for household composition. However, as of 2005, the DHS institute would not give permission to researchers to use their databases. It may be possible to find the proportion of nonfamily members in DHS databases, though, and in this group a practice similar to the evlatlık phenomenon may be found.

According to a 2007 UNICEF report, child poverty has dropped by a small percentage between 2002 and 2007, when income poverty indicators are considered. Nevertheless, children still live with a much higher risk of poverty and vulnerability. In 2002, 35% of under-15-year-olds were living in poverty, compared to 28% in 2005. This rate is 40% when children in rural areas are concerned. An increasing number of children, mainly boys, from rural backgrounds engage in street life to search for better employment opportunities, and they automatically drop out from the educational system. Thus, a national-level protection system is necessary. [9]

A small but growing number of studies on domestic work have been emerging in Turkey. More statistical studies are needed to report data on domestic workers, but statistical reporting is not separate from conceptual understanding. Therefore, more studies and discussion need to be incorporated into mainstream social science studies. Among others, Ozyegin (2001) explores the connections between the family and internal workings of the informal domestic workers market, in regards to earnings, work schedules, recruitment patterns, and renegotiation of patriarchal gender relations in

[9] Turkey signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) on September 14, 1990, and ratified it on April 4, 1995. The Optional Protocols on protection of children, ratified in several legislative packages between 2002 and 2004, brought family law closer to the standards of the CRC. However, economic infrastructure continues to push the limits of what individuals and families can endure.

Ankara, the capital city. She uses multiple methods such as surveys, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus group research. The forms of domestic labor she investigates and compares are those performed by doormen's wives as daily cleaners (*kapıcı eşi*) and the performance of daily cleaning work by those who come from shantytowns. Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000) investigate similar issues in the same city, studying daily (live-out) domestic workers and those who work at the offices as cleaning workers. White (1994) explores how women participate in domestic paid labor and home-based work in the Ümraniye district of İstanbul. Additionally, Bora's (2005) study is another investigation into informal paid domestic work that emphasizes the central role of class in defining gender inequalities. Moreover, several recent research initiatives study Moldavian paid, live-in domestic workers in Istanbul.

The Evlatlık Institution in Turkey

As is documented in the earlier sections, the evlatlık institution is an intermingling of three phenomena: child labor, migration, and the informality of domestic labor relations. The emergence of the evlatlık institution, its causes, and the subtleties of the evlatlık relationships are useful in understanding social relations as power relations. Gender and class power relations are central social categories in this study. Gender relations can be identified narrowly as women's subordination to men and women's subordination to women in social class terms. Class relations can be identified narrowly as subordination between different types of households given their socioeconomic levels. Although hard to validate with formal statistics, the evlatlık practice still exists in Turkey as well as in a variety of different forms of domestic labor where gender and class

relations intermingle. Current data show that substantial numbers of working age women in Turkey engage in unpaid domestic labor as housewives or female members of the household (sisters, aunts, nieces, brides, grandmothers, cousins, and distant female relatives). A majority of women are involved in unpaid domestic labor as their primary activity. Similar practices occur worldwide, hidden within different types of households. Without probing different forms and relations, domestic labor may be a unifying labor form for women around the world. However, the needs and interests of women from different classes create serious conflicts for women in domestic labor relations. The evlatlık practice highlights many of these conflicts.

Just as poor households have their strategies for alleviating poverty and improving wellbeing, middle- and upper-class households have strategies for improving and reproducing overall wellbeing. The evlatlık institution is a result of the interaction between the strategies of the rural poor and/or vulnerable urban households to alleviate poverty, and urban middle- and upper-middle-class households' strategies to reproduce themselves through the use of unpaid domestic labor and fulfill their class identity by engaging in what appears, at first sight, to be charity and "giving." The push and pull forces of gender and class relations in Turkish society created this institution. On the one hand, middle- and upper-middle-class households needed help for household labor. On the other hand, poor and/or vulnerable rural or urban households with multiple children needed better living conditions for their children, which they found in the households of those who were "better-off." Their intention was to have, at least, one less mouth to feed ("bir ağız eksiltmek").

Özbay's (1999) *Evlatlık Institution in Turkey; Slave or Child* reveals the same

practice occurring in the Ottoman Empire in 1885–1907. The Ottomans maintained an imperial power that stretched around the Mediterranean, including Anatolia, North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Europe from 1299 to 1922. The Turkish Republic emerged in Anatolia as the Ottoman Empire dissolved. Özbay's work traces different forms of domestic labor and illuminates the transformation of the evlatlık institution in Turkish society, especially at the cultural level. Özbay's (1999) study is the only one in Turkey that explores the same phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire from 1885 to 1907. Özbay also finds reminiscences of the evlatlık phenomenon in Turkish fiction writing. Özbay writes:

> It was the privilege of Ottoman Muslims households to use both black and white slaves in domestic work, whereas non-Muslims could only use free servants. Successive attempts to ban the slave trade were effective in reducing the number of slaves by the end of the 19th century. Orphan and/or poor peasant girls who were taken into middle class households in the name of "protection" and "goodwill" gradually replaced the former domestic slaves. The young women were called *evlatlıks*, which literally means "adopted daughter." (p. 12)

According to her sources, there were 1.5 million servants in the country in 1885. Since slavery was the norm, there were 52,000 domestic slaves and less than 40,000 free slaves known to exist in Istanbul. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, similar traditions, norms, beliefs, and values persisted. The evlatlıks in my study were brought into their pseudo-households in the early 1960s, at very early ages, when they were 5 or 6 years old. This intentional separation from the biological family, which provided some basic needs to the child and relieved the pressure on the biological family, repressed evlatlıks as young children. Despite the fact that they had "improved" access to basic needs, some of the participants problematized these so-called improvements. They

argued that they would have chosen to stay in their biological families if they had known the degree of mistreatment they would experience in the pseudo-households. Most participants presented experiences in which one kind of deprivation was chosen, intentionally or unintentionally, in order to satisfy other needs. In other words, they gave up some of their interests in order to fulfill certain needs. For the majority of evlatlıks, it was always a lose-lose situation, considering the significantly poor treatment. In most cases, provision of basic needs justified lack of many emotional needs, but these deprivations became detrimental for human wellbeing.

The push and pull effects are hidden in the monetary and nonmonetary relations between groups and people, between the evlatlık in this case and the different types of households. Several evlatlıks emphasized the power of society, complexities of social relations, and lack of self-determination. Whether the participant had a fulfilling life or not depended on specific relationships and personalities involved in each case. The evlatlıks' personalities, the personas of the members in each household, and the relations among them all were key in understanding outcomes and processes. It is crucial to lay out the life histories of the participants to truly weigh the "net effect" of the evlatlık institution, if at all possible.

The evlatlık practice can be described as a rosy model of social relations; a model of a socioeconomic security that depended on the goodwill of better-off households helping worse-off ones. It may be presented as a "philanthropic act" that provided basic needs for underprivileged girls while opening a space between hard to dismantle large structures and individual lives. However, reality is much more nuanced. Nuances are always hidden in the life stories of marginalized groups as well as people with power. In

this study, the evlatlıks describe their perspective. The lives of evlatlıks are shaped by context-specific push and pull effects. The push and pull emerges from the reproduction needs of poor rural households as well as the reproduction needs of the well-off urban households. On the one hand, too many children in the rural households resulted in families' decreased ability to provision for their needs. On the other hand, the rise of modernization created a need for domestic laborers to do the chores while housewives oversaw their work as they managed the well-off urban households. To fill this need, young girls were transported from rural to urban households under the pretense of doing a good deed. The motivating factor for rural parents and the justification for urban families was the potential increase in the wellbeing of the evlatlıks in the long-term. In evlatlıks' own assessment of their wellbeing, material gain plays a role; participants talked about achieving "better" material conditions. Nevertheless, each participant ardently disputed how her background automatically put her in a socially inferior position and how lack of emotional growth hampered many aspects of her life. Physical weakness, sickness, vulnerability, physical and social isolation, powerlessness, humiliation, lack of self-determination, lack of autonomy, and lack of dignity and empowerment dominated her definition of wellbeing. Most participants talked about their lives in terms of the importance of health and education, and lack of access to both while they lived in pseudo-households, as well as a loss of personhood and dignity due to the kind of treatment they received. However, because evlatlıks have different backgrounds, it becomes very complicated to understand these groups' relations to each other and to resources.

Family Structure: Changes Around the World and in Turkey

According to Article 16 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State." Since the Declaration, major human rights as well as labor rights instruments have been declared and adopted by many countries for the enforcement of the articles raised in the UDHR.[10] For instance, parents have obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and states are obliged to cooperate with families to create the necessary infrastructure to ensure the protection of individuals and families. While individuals have responsibilities within their communities according to social norms, the state is the primary duty-bearer under international law. In order to enforce instruments and fulfill human rights, it is necessary to cultivate an understanding of the concept of family, and societies must find a way to protect members of "the family." Social scientists (Parsons & Bales, 1955) have been studying "the family" since the nineteenth century. While research has analyzed different forms of families, these efforts have centered on the identification of universal characteristics of the family. Family ties are those supported by law or social norms that classify an action as "right" or "wrong." People who are considered family members are those who have developed a relationship due to birth, marriage, domestic partnership, cohabitation, socially approved sexual relationship, or legal adoption. Anthropologists argue that many societies

[10] The major human rights instruments are: International Convention on the Prevention and the Punishment of the Crime and Genocide (1948), the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1965), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989).

understand the family not as a result of genetic connection but as an institution stemming from social norms. The evlatlık phenomenon has certainly been situated at the center of analyses of the family as social norm, rather than as the result of genetic connection. Evlatlıks' confusion about their life-work experiences has been shaped by the perception of the biological family as social norm: Even though the experiences of evlatlıks are not similar to the experience of biological children in the household, they lived "as if family." The notion of "being family" strengthens the view that they were not "domestic workers," but part of the family. However, the amount of household and care work they had performed, as well as lack of rights and access to or control over family resources, are clearly in opposition to the idea of "being family." In fact, the idea of "being family" has been used and abused by pseudo-families. Giving evlatlıks the assurance of "being family" was a false pledge, serving as a subtle and sneaky way of exercising power over the evlatlıks.

The family organizational unit has multiple economic outcomes. Scott and Tilly (1987) emphasize that the family has "shared values having to do with collective commitment to economic survival" (p. 7), adding, "If we want to understand how and under what conditions women worked, it seems advisable to examine family economic strategies" (p. 7). The evlatlık practice is one of many different strategies used by both biological and pseudo-families.

According to Werner-Wilson (2001), "the family" includes persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption. He argues that family may also include sets of interdependent but independent persons who share common goals, resources, and a commitment to each other. Therefore, members of a family are simultaneously

autonomous and dependent. When particular ties bring people together as a family, provision for basics needs becomes their priority. These activities are commonly mediated by contractual and/or emotional ties that people build via marriage, blood relationships, or legal adoption. Such relations are not only initiated and regulated at the micro level; there are structural approaches that explain how the emergence of "the family" is guided by broader societal forces. One deterministic approach comes from Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Community and the State*, originally published in 1884. Engels produced a Marxist analysis of the family, which Marx failed to explore. Engels argued for the material basis of inequality between a husband and wife in the bourgeois family. Engels held that women raised legitimate children for inheritance purposes, and in return received board and lodging. He described this relationship as prostitution. According to Barrett (1991), Engels contrasted bourgeois marriage with the "true sex love" allowed to flourish in a proletariat where husband and wife attained an equality of exploitation through wage labor. According to Coontz (2005) Marxist historians accept the form of family dominant in the West today. Detailed specifications are determined according to class, ethnic group, and other social factors. A second major interest lies in the relevance of psychoanalysis in an interpretation of the family—though this approach remains controversial within Marxism. Another disparity between definitions of "the family" is that one definition holds that family is a kinship arrangement, while the other maintains that it is a type of economic organization of a household.

Around the world, there are variations of family forms. Since the beginning of time, family forms have been changing slowly as economic, social, sexual, and reproductive relations gradually change. Anthropologist George Murdock, within his

studies of 500 societies, shows common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction as the three major foci for the family. Evlatlıks' life stories present this economic cooperation and reproduction as including a significant amount of coercion and conflict through which evlatlıks lose in the long-term.

The family structure in Turkey has a patriarchal and patrilocal character in terms of intra- and interrelations; however, the majority of households have been composed of nuclear families since 1968. Sutay (2004) examines changes in family and household types from 1968 to 1998. The study shows that the nuclear family, which now makes up 61–72% of households, has been the dominant family type during the last three decades. The transition from complex extended families to simple, small families living in a home together is seen as an ongoing process despite the prevailing regional differences. Sutay's study also underscores the significant regional differences, in terms of family and household type distribution, that relate to the socioeconomic and demographic conditions. Although there are no major differences among regions, in the Mediterranean region where fieldwork for this study was conducted, 26% of households are nonnuclear households. It is possible that such households were (and may still be) potential pseudo-households for evlatlıks. In fact, 15 of 22 participants in the study reported that they had an extended family member—a grandmother or grandfather, or an unmarried uncle or aunt—living in the pseudo-household.

3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter consists of three sections: gender and human poverty, capabilities approach, and domestic labor. The first section provides a short survey of the concept of human poverty. Evlatlıks' biological families send their daughters to work as unpaid live-in domestic laborers with the expectation that the girls will move up economically and socially. The families believe the daughters will have access to education, will have better access to health services, and will learn everyday skills from the pseudo-family members. Within the urban society, they are expected to do better and be better. The second section explores the capabilities approach, the conceptual framework of this study. The third section of this chapter provides a short survey of domestic labor, summarizing different forms of domestic labor and how the evlatlık institution compares and contrasts with them as a form of domestic labor.

Gender and Human Poverty

A major goal of economic development policies during the past several decades has been the reduction and elimination of poverty and gender inequality. The Millennium Declaration signed in 2000 by member states of the United Nations is the most visible manifestation of the international consensus on the urgent need to eliminate extreme

forms of poverty through a variety of policies.[11] However, top-down policy-making does not automatically translate into the achievement of time-bound goals. A major area of emphasis has been the achievement of sustained growth, which is often seen as the most important factor in poverty reduction.[12] As experience from around the world shows, the benefits of growth do not always trickle down to the poorer segments of the population. It is increasingly recognized that poverty is not "just" a shortfall in income or consumption. Poverty is a multidimensional concept that involves not only income and consumption shortfalls, but also other dimensions such as assets (social and material), self-esteem, dignity, autonomy, and lack of time. It is acknowledged that poverty is about powerlessness, an observation made even by mainstream institutions such as the World Bank (World Bank, 2000).

The concept of human poverty encompasses all dimensions of poverty, with emphasis on nonmaterial aspects. Nonmaterial aspects include the denial of opportunities and choices for living a life one has reason to value. Human poverty exists in both poor and rich countries. The measures of human poverty, introduced by UNDP's *Human Development Report (HDR) 1997*, include the Human Poverty Index 1 (HPI)-1 scale, which is the human poverty index for developing countries, and the HPI-2, which is the

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[11] With the Millennium Declaration, member states agreed on the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): 1) eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, 2) achievement of universal primary education, 3) promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women, 4) reduction of child mortality, 5) improvement of maternal health, 6) combatting HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases, 7) environmental sustainability, and 8) formation of global partnerships for development. In addition, there are 18 time-bound targets and 48 indicators by which to monitor these time-bound targets, the details of which can be found at http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/goals/index.htm.

[12] Dollar and Kraay (2000) argued in a controversial paper that growth is good for the poor. A growing body of literature now focuses on propoor growth, acknowledging that not all types of growth are conducive to poverty reduction or "good for the poor." For example, see Klasen (2003) and Van der Hoeven (2004).

human poverty index for selected high-income Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries. HPI-1 measures human deprivations in terms of three core aspects of human development: longevity, knowledge, and a decent standard of living. HPI-2 includes social exclusion in addition to the three dimensions of the HPI-1, although the benchmarks for the latter dimensions are higher for OECD countries.HPI-2 is measured by the rate of long-term (12 months or more) unemployment of the labor force (HDR, 1997).

The human poverty indexes are based on the concept of human poverty encompassed by Amartya Sen's capabilities framework. Alkire (2005) summarizes Sen's idea of "capability" as various combinations of beings and doings (i.e., functionings) that a person can achieve, reflecting a person's freedom to lead one type of life or another. Alkire emphasizes that these evaluations must focus on the freedom that people have to do or be what they choose, based on what they value. The inability to achieve a combination of capabilities can therefore cause human poverty.

Formulation and implementation of a coherent policy framework for poverty elimination requires a comprehensive understanding of both material and nonmaterial aspects of poverty. Use of qualitative methods of poverty assessment alongside the quantitative methods used in traditional approaches to measuring poverty can be important for developing such an understanding. Bringing the voices and realities of those who live in poverty and in vulnerable contexts into the center of debates is a crucial aspect of effective policy formulation (Chambers, 1989, 1995; Narayan, 2000).

Historically and across countries, households and families living in poverty have developed a variety of livelihood strategies, which are ways of combining and using

assets, both inside and outside markets.[13] Coping strategies for providing livelihoods emerge in response to short-term "shocks," such as natural disasters, political crises, civil strife and violence, and economic crises, that jeopardize livelihoods and increase vulnerability. People adapt their livelihood strategies to a "reduced situation," but slowly, as the system recovers, households employ a new strategy composed of elements from both the former livelihood strategy and the coping strategy to develop a new portfolio of livelihood activities (Benedikt, 2002).

Livelihood and coping strategies of poor people are often invisible to policymakers, and sometimes they appear as marginal to the workings of the economy. Contradictions between the realities of those who experience being poor and the presumptions of those who are trying to "help" them have become much more obvious over the past two decades. Substantial efforts to identify these contradictions and design new models of poverty reduction have been underway. However, a growing body of literature devoted to understanding the livelihood strategies of poor people shows the dynamic nature of the strategies employed, and the variations of these strategies (Narayan, 2000). Through participatory poverty studies around the world, the complex lives of millions of underprivileged men, women, and children are informing new approaches to policymaking. Feminist economists and social scientists have been working toward this goal of better understanding the nature and dynamics of poverty.

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[13] "A livelihood comprises of capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base" (DFID, 1999, p. 2, based on Chambers & Conway, 1992).

Feminist economics redefines the sphere of economic analysis. The economy is redefined to include both production and reproduction, and both paid and unpaid work (Beneria, 1979; Nelson, 1992; Power, 2005).[14] Feminist economists and social scientists have been studying the organic links between production and reproduction, as well as paid and unpaid work (Agawam, 1997; Beerier, 1979, 1995; Picchio, 1992; Picher, 1992). They commonly argue that reproductive work is undervalued when it occurs within a paid economy, and when is unpaid, it is invisible in the economy.

Feminist economics is still a contested paradigm in economics that distinguishes itself from other paradigms by placing emphasis on the centrality of gender as an analytical category in economics. Feminists have been critiquing the use of the household as a unit of analysis in poverty studies. They problematize concepts such as "the household," "the family," and "the community," which are the units of analyses in poverty research and are often treated as homogenous. Feminist economists introduce power relations and hierarchies within these spaces. They explain how these relations are based on gender, class, race, age, and other socially constructed identities. For instance, the household is a place where members experience continued cooperation and conflict (Agarwal, 1997; Folbre, 1986; Sen, 1990). "The household" is also a sphere characterized by gender and age-based divisions of labor. Sharing of work burdens, resources, and assets is often unequal and asymmetric, with women specializing in unpaid work and men in activities of paid work. Women from all classes, with variations in intensity, have always been associated with household work and the identity that is attached to this work.

[14] Lourdes Beneria (1979) defines reproduction in three ways: biological reproduction, reproduction of labor power, and reproduction of communities and societies (social reproduction).

When women in a household have the means, they hire domestic laborers, paid or unpaid. However, this gender-based division of labor is also reflected in labor markets. For instance, the majority of agricultural workers in rural areas are women, and a significant percentage of this work is unpaid. When women participate in formal labor markets, the type of work they perform often has characteristics that are similar to those of domestic labor. This study of evlatlıks brings the class dimension into the study of household relations.

The gender-based divisions of labor within and outside households has meant that women are more vulnerable to poverty than men, even when they reside in the same household and are members of the same family (Cagatay, 1998).[15] When experienced in a household, class-based divisions of labor create a unique situation, as this study reveals. Thus, feminist economists emphasize that poverty within households is both a shared experience and an experience that differs by gender, age, and class. While gender-based power relations render women's experiences of poverty different from men's, class-based relations create divisions and conflicts among women. Acknowledging that labor is reproduced partly within households by unpaid work (as well as by paid work) has paved the way to studies on gender and class relations within economic life (Beneria, 1979, 1995; Hartmann, 1981).

Domestic labor, while performed mostly by women, is not always performed by women who are family members. Upper- or middle-class women may bring in another female to substitute for them in childcare and household work. The majority of the

[15] The concept of vulnerability involves being at risk of becoming poor as a result of natural or socially-induced crises. It is associated with insecurity and defenselessness in the face of crises (Chambers, 1989).

females brought into households to take on the care work are paid domestic workers, while at the same time, there are also unpaid domestic workers. Paid domestic labor includes recognized "jobs" such as housekeeper, nanny, and gardener.[16] Paid workers may live with the family or come into the household each day, living elsewhere. The second category, unpaid workers, may consist of distantly related family members, or they may be people who have no blood relationship with the family. Studies from diverse contemporary developing countries show that unpaid domestic workers are usually female and enter the household as children. In India and South Asia, the term *didi* is generally used to refer to paid as well as unpaid nonfamily workers. The latter are similar to evlatlıks. In Haiti, the term *rejevak* is used to refer to unpaid nonfamily workers, who are mostly children. Again, they are similar to evlatlıks. In Nepal, the *Kamlari* system is a fifty- to sixty-year-old practice in which poor families provide daughters as domestic servants in exchange for cash (IFeminist Newsletter, 2009).

In Turkey, the evlatlık institution arose from such arrangements. Evlatlıks are primarily orphan and/or poor peasant girls, who come to live in upper- and middle-class households under conditions of quasi-adoption. The phrase "quasi-adoption" is used to distinguish between the status of evlatlıks and legally adopted children, who acquire the legal rights—such as inheritance rights—of biological children. Evlatlıks are not legally adopted at the time of arrival to the quasi-adoptive family. They are also different from foster children, who live with a family other than their biological family for a temporary period of time. Foster parenting (*koruma aileciliği*) is a form of child protection

[16] Male domestic workers are prevalent in South Asia and Haiti for household tasks that can be perceived as "manly," such as shopping, gardening, washing cars, and small-scale maintenance work.

introduced into law in 2000, although the practice is not widespread. While evlatlıks are not legally adopted, they are given familial attributes and reside with their quasi-adoptive family. The quasi-adoptive family provides for their material needs until they enter arranged marriages and form their own households. Although they enter the household under the pretext that the family is providing "charity" and "protection," this arrangement centers on the evlatlıks' performance of domestic work starting at the age of five or six and extending until marriage. Though rare, the practice continues to exist in contemporary Turkey.

Just as poor households have livelihood strategies for the alleviation of poverty and improvement of wellbeing, middle- and upper-class households have strategies for reproduction and improvement of overall wellbeing. The evlatlık institution is a result of the interface between the rural or urban poor and/or vulnerable households' strategy for alleviating poverty and the urban middle-class households' strategy for reproducing themselves through the use of unpaid domestic labor. In addition, by adopting such a strategy, middle- and upper-middle-class households fulfill their class identity by engaging in what appears to be charity and "giving." The pushing and pulling forces of gender and class relations in Turkish society created this institution. On the one hand, middle- and upper-middle-class households needed help for reproductive of household labor. On the other hand, poor and/or vulnerable rural or urban households with multiple children needed better living conditions for their children. When engaging in such livelihood strategies, the intention of poor and/or vulnerable households is to have at least one less mouth to feed (*bir ağız eksiltmek*).

Feminist researchers in Turkey often portray the evlatlık practice as obsolete, yet

experiences in many different global contexts suggest that similar practices continue to persist in other places, and indeed become more widespread during times of economic and political crises and increasing poverty, such as in the case of Haiti. They become a part of the coping strategy of poor households. While I seek to understand gender and poverty at a micro level, multidimensional aspects of poverty can be traced through the processes and relations within and across households in a community or a nation. An evlatlık's life cycle starts in the biological family's household and continues in the pseudo-family's household until marriage, when she forms her own nuclear family and household. It is necessary to examine the relations within and among these different households while understanding the evlatlık's experiences in each of them. In the process, is important to compare and contrast how the evlatlık's capabilities ("doings" and "beings") were fulfilled or failed during each life cycle phase, examining whether the evlatlık successfully built a set of capabilities that she values during each phase, particularly if her formative years were lived in the pseudo-family's household. By tracing the life cycles of evlatlıks through different households, we can achieve a dynamic understanding of poverty, wellbeing, and social reproduction. Vulnerable households and vulnerable groups always exists in societies. Vulnerability[17] refers to the lack of ability of individuals or a group to cope with unforeseen events, pressures, and stress due to ingrained inequalities in societies. Consequently, their situation can worsen if vulnerabilities remain unaddressed. Vulnerability can lead to economic deprivation, social dependency, oppression, exploitation, physical violence, and psychological harm.

[17] The meaning of "vulnerability" is discussed by Philip and Rayhan (2004) and Decron (2001), among others.

Understanding and decreasing vulnerability is an important means of preventing poverty. Thus, vulnerability studies have emerged as risk management strategies for natural, environmental, or economic disasters impacting rural development, especially in regards to people's ability to meet their basic needs (Phillip & Rayhan, 2014). The basic needs approach to addressing vulnerability focuses on people's minimum requirements for survival. Risk management is an insurance-like approach similar to the human welfare approach: It views people as recipients, not as active participants in shaping their lives. The World Bank, which has raised interest in people-centered approaches to addressing vulnerability, uses social risk management based on the concept of human resources that envisions human capital as input into the production process. However, none of these approaches interpret vulnerabilities in the broader context of human development and the capabilities approach.

This broadening of the concept of poverty into a wider construct that includes livelihood strategies and an understanding of coping mechanisms has led to growing interest in the study of gender and poverty. Such studies aim to determine mechanisms that empower women, supporting them in achieving autonomy, or agency; leading long, healthy, and more creative lives; and enjoying a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, and self-esteem (Philip & Rayhan, 2004)[18].

Those who strive for quantitative measurement of poverty would argue that the notion of "vulnerability to poverty" is elusive. According to Kanbur and Squire (2001), poor households often identify vulnerability as a condition that includes both exposure to

[18] Philip and Rayhan (2004) propose indicators for measuring the multiple dimensions of vulnerability under the following categories: ecological security, economic efficiency, social equity, empowerment, poverty, and food absorption.

serious risks and defenselessness against deprivation, and that is a function of social marginalization that ultimately results in economic marginalization. As with the study of poverty, researchers are working to formulate methods that measure vulnerability for cross-time and cross-space analysis. Unfortunately, this approach is backward. Vulnerabilities are primarily hidden in behavioral, mental, and psychological terrains, which eventually connect to our material lives (Dercon, 2001). Domestic labor is such a phenomenon, and it can give women both strength and vulnerability.

Multiple factors can force people into poverty. Lack of income or means of consumption; lack of access to assets and public or private resources; and lack of time, dignity, and autonomy are some of these factors. Poverty is more than a lack of income or consumption. Although mainstream poverty research acknowledges the multidimensionality of poverty, and human poverty has become a mainstream concept, dynamic and relational factors that give rise to poverty and inequalities still have not been integrated into mainstream research (Çagatay, 1998). Dynamics and relational factors are studied via analytical (and social) categories such as gender, class, race, and sexual orientation. Unpacking the historically embedded material and social relations and their interactions, especially within the boundaries of the discipline of economics, is challenging. Boundaries in economics have been built by dualistic thought. Feminist economists have been using gender as an analytical category by which to break down dualism in economics. Domestic labor plays an important role in this process, as its very aim is to question dualisms and break down the walls between so-called economic and noneconomic thought. Understanding domestic labor challenges economists to conceptualize economic phenomena in different ways. The next section discusses the

application of the capabilities approach in this research.

The Capabilities Approach

The capabilities approach (CA) targets the potential beings and doings of people instead of focusing on their contribution to the system of production in an isolated manner. In doing so, the capabilities approach initiates a broader focus on women and the welfare regime of Turkey. Developing a more gender-sensitive analysis necessitates the capturing of information about all women, not only women in the labor market. A substantial percentage of women in Turkey perform unpaid and paid domestic labor. The implications of the domestic labor process, therefore, need to be understood and linked to policy-making and welfare discussions. The CA can provide a deeper understanding of processes of resource and service creation, which will inform discussions on domestic labor and unpack some of the implications of the domestic labor process in a more simplified way.

The CA concentrates on service and resource creation and is used as an evaluative tool to analyze the stories of evlatlıks. The CA categories assist in performing discourse analysis. As an open-ended approach, the CA introduces multiple and evolving variables to facilitate the understanding of wellbeing. It does not impose fixed or predetermined content. In discourse analysis, these characteristics are crucial. The analysis also aims to raise awareness about the evlatlık institution and the relationships it generates. This study identifies three stages in the lives of evlatlıks*:* stage 1) the biological household; stage 2) the pseudo-household; and stage 3) the evlatlık's own household upon marriage. The primary focus of this study is the evlatlıks' lives in the pseudo-households where they

performed their unpaid domestic labor. Studying such an intimate form of labor relations fosters a deep understanding of socialization, internalization, and actualization of oppression in the general sense, including how an individual can be stripped of his or her own personhood and labor for the benefit of others.

The CA prioritizes people and the expansion of their capabilities, rather than solely concentrating on the acquiring of material things, because the CA explores what individuals can potentially and actually "be" and "do." In this study, a crucial question is what evlatlıks have become and done over their lives, given their circumstances. Sen (1985, 1992, 1999) differentiates between capabilities and functionings: Capabilities are potential "doings" and "beings," the endless possibilities that an individual may achieve. Functionings, however, are the "doings" and "beings" that an individual *has* achieved with the resources she or he possesses (Robeyns, 2005). Robeyns (2005) explains,

> The capability approach not only advocates for an evaluation of people's capability sets, but insists also that we need to scrutinize the context in which economic production and social interactions take place, and whether the circumstances in which people choose from their opportunity sets are enabling and just. (p. 99)

For instance, satisfying one's basic needs is considered a functioning. The ability to engage in economic exchange, and to participate in educational or political activities, is also a functioning. For example, a farmer may have the ability to cultivate land (a functioning), but with no land with which to sow his crops, he and his family may end up hungry because the functioning does not extend into a larger capability. In the case of evlatlıks, most of them were sent to literacy courses to learn basic reading and writing skills, but they could not actually use this functioning to expand their capability set. Pseudo-families did not pay attention to whether evlatlıks used their particular

functionings (i.e., reading and writing) in a constructive way. Some participants reported that later in life, they faced difficult experiences due to their inability to turn some of their functionings into a useful capability set. Pseudo-families were proud that they were providing for evlatlıks' basic needs, which was perceived as a major step toward poverty reduction at the international level. However, they did not appear to consider how the evlatlıks' functionings could not be transformed into capabilities due in part to behavioral obstacles such as absence of positive outlook, self-esteem, optimism, competence, vitality, autonomy, and trust.

Although income-based measurement is still influential in policy-making (Aisbeitt, 2004), income and resources are a necessary but insufficient aspect of poverty and wellbeing analysis. They are not contradictory, but complementary, to the evaluation of capabilities development. Income is needed for people to achieve doings and beings, by which they achieve a combination of capabilities. Different doings and beings bring people fulfillment and satisfaction. People flourish more as they figure out and achieve missing dimensions of their lives. Wellbeing is more than material gain. Clark (2005) explains, "Neither opulence (income, commodity command) nor utility (happiness, desire fulfillment) constitute or adequately represent human wellbeing and deprivation. Instead, what is required is a more direct approach that focuses on human function(ing)s and the capabilities to achieve valuable function(ing)s" (p. 4).

The CA framework is not about happiness, pleasure, or utility but ordinary, day-to-day activities. This approach shifts away from utilitarianism and toward practical ethics founded on personal and social activities (Jackson, 2005). According to Alkire (2005, emphasis added):

> *functionings* are various things a person may value doing or being. *Achieved functionings* is the particular beings or doings a person enjoys at a given point in time. Achieved functionings are important because they can sometimes be measured. *Capability* refers to the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve.

The tools and the framework of the CA approach lend deeper understanding of how functionings and capabilities are developed, while deconstructing gender and class relations. Over the years, complex interactions between class interests and gender interests and needs have been investigated by several researchers (Aslop, 1993; Molyneux, 1979; Moser, 1989; Young, 1981). This research has sought to answer several primary questions, including: Do people pursue functionings that they value, and why? Why are some people not able to obtain a good education while others are? Why do some people have jobs they enjoy while others do not? Diverse experiences in similar contexts, given a similar income-commodity nexus, reveal the complexity of the process of acquiring certain doings and beings. It is not the same for each individual or group. Therefore, the achievement of some functionings may be a story of wellbeing for a particular individual while others are not. Moreover, times of wellbeing and ill-being can be found in an individual's life cycle. Evlatlıks' stories reveal the complexity of achieving or failing to achieve different functionings. Some participants in the study explained that they had to endure oppression and deprivation of some functionings to form their capabilities set. Almost all of the participants endured disturbing treatment, including psychological and emotional violence. In order to finish their primary education or literacy courses, they had to endure negative emotions in everyday life. Several evlatlıks mentioned that their getting a primary education certificate was not supported by the pseudo-families, although it was part of an implicit bargain with the

biological families. Throughout their schooling process, they were told on a daily basis that schooling would not create any opportunities (*okuyup da ne olacaksın?*) for them. Meanwhile, evlatlıks observed the amount of support and encouragement the biological children received for their schooling. Most of the participants explained that they had intuitively known the importance of reading and writing, and therefore, they finished primary school despite the adversity they experienced. For the most part, love, affection, warmth, and kindness were withheld from the girls from the time they arrived at the pseudo-household. They were prevented from communicating with their biological parents, who were referred to as inferior. The girls could neither identify with their biological parents nor their pseudo-parents. Thus, the evlatlıks experienced loss of personhood. Loss of courage and inability to stand up for themselves were other outcomes that impacted their long-term wellbeing, preventing them from developing a strong emotional wellbeing. In some cases, they developed anger or hatred toward their pseudo-families that dominated their emotional experience, or they became deeply introverted and could not experience warm human relations.

The two main objectives of using the CA as the evaluative framework in this study are: 1) the CA analyzes diverse dimensions of wellbeing instead of only one, such as income, and 2) the CA converts factors such as income and commodities into functionings in people, and ultimately the formation of the capabilities set (Robeyns, 2008). The processes and the consequences of evlatlıks' experiences as described by the participants reveal diverse dimensions of wellbeing, particularly how each person's experiences, with similar access to income and commodities, led to the development of different functionings and capabilities sets.

In this study, a combination of Martha Nussbaum's and Ingrid Robeyns' list of doings and being are reconciled in an evaluative framework. Nussbaum (2000) describes basic capabilities as follows: life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses-imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation and empathy, ability to live with other species, opportunity to play, and control over one's political and material environment. According to Jackson (2005), Sen prefers a broad concept of "capability" in the form of overall life chances rather than specific skills and abilities. Sen talks about social and structural influences on capability, however, his work in this regard is marginal and undertheorized. Jackson (2005) also argues that it is necessary to explore social structure and its interdependence with human agency. How did evlatlıks achieve different capabilities sets, and eventually different levels of wellbeing? Why did some participants achieve a certain combination of "being" and "doing" (i.e., functionings), while others did not? How did some achieve certain functionings, but some were not able to expand their capabilities? What were the obstacles? The framework in this chapter enables us to identify the obstacles, both at the individual and societal level. Some of the evlatlıks' inability to achieve certain capabilities may be explained by different life cycle phases. This approach offers great advances toward measuring the individual and group's wellbeing. As with most new concepts, Nussbaum's work has inspired heated debate as to whether her work constitutes a "real" scientific approach. In most cases, a solution for poverty or other socioeconomic problems is sought by way of scientific knowledge. An important dimension of research that has always been lost, however, is to genuinely listen to the experiences of the participants rather than fighting to solve poverty issues, especially as an "expert" on poverty. Dimensions such as social and personal wellbeing

in general, and in particular self-esteem, control, dignity, autonomy, lack of time, lack of power, absence of positive feelings, lack of trust and belonging, lack of competence, and lack of prolonged social support are deeply rooted issues awaiting greater emphasis. This study, while sifting through the life cycles of evlatlıks, aims to bring that emphasis into the gender and human development discussions.

Domestic Labor

Women, men, and children have always worked inside and outside the household. Work and life cannot be separated from each other; one requires the other. During the interviews with evlatlıks in this study, participants echoed the message that "it was my life, not my work." This research elaborates on the paradoxical issues in the discussion of work and life in general, with specific attention on how domestic labor is central in bringing work and life together. Today, time use studies as well as narratives, oral histories, and interviews capture the daily activities of women and men for the purpose of studying these issues. Work status, working conditions, and place of work have always been organized via developments in production systems and have been influenced by class, gender, race, age, and nationality differences. Historically, women's work inside and outside the household was organized through feudal and capitalist production systems. As industrialization progressed, changes in production and consumption processes created new meanings that have led to an evolution of the definition of economic activity. Even though "work" encompasses a variety of human activities related to subsistence and livelihood, the term has become synonymous with "employment" and "economic activity." Historically, especially during industrialization, the domestic sphere

was pushed outside of the economic system. Public/private dichotomies have become more pronounced as changes in production systems have progressed. These dichotomies have become even more defined due to changes in cultural, social, and religious ideologies.

As a result of these shifts, being *paid* or *unpaid* has become the demarcation of what *is work* and what *is not work*.[19] Domestic activities can be recognized as *work* if the laborer was *paid.* Housewives and other members of the household have been taking care of domestic activities for many centuries, but what they do is not *work* because it is *unpaid*. The ideology of the family—that is, the romantic notion of the private sphere as the protective domain for society—gave rise to unpaid, nonfamily domestic work. This type of domestic work is being experienced under different names around the world: *didi* in India*, amah* in China, *rejevaks* in Haiti, *mammies* in the antebellum United States, and *evlatlık* in Turkey. In Turkey, girls as young as five or six years old have been engaged in this practice for many years. In the specific context of this country's social relations and gender relations, there is nothing peculiar about such a practice. To put it crudely, the practice implies the goodwill of one group of people for another through an act of protection, in return for which the protected group serves the protector. Most evlatlıks live in the pseudo-households until marriage, after which they move into another form of unpaid domestic labor as housewives.

Unpaid domestic workers originate from underprivileged households; poverty and

[19] There are similarities and differences between the concept of unpaid work in feminist literature and in the Marxist definition. Marx's separation of use value and exchange value relates domestic labor to use value. He refers to unpaid labor as the part of wage labor (related to exchange value) that goes to the capitalist instead of the workers, who put in the necessary time for the production of commodities.

vulnerabilities keep women and girls in the vicious cycle of domestic labor. The evlatlık practice gives us a better understanding of not only gender relations but also the cross-cutting relations of class and gender (i.e., class determined by gender). Carrying domestic labor into the market sphere and/or finding solutions via public policy has a positive impact on gender and class equality, but it has not eliminated the problem of domestic labor being undervalued or invisibilized. Even in countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands, and others with strong records for social policy and market access, informal markets for domestic services exist. Women from the lower classes have always carried the burden of domestic labor in these societies and others, both as housewives and as paid or unpaid domestic laborers.

What Is Domestic Labor?

Many feminist social scientists have analyzed the role of the unpaid work performed by women in the home. Marxist and socialist feminists refer to domestic labor as "reproductive labor," in keeping with Friedrich Engels' distinction between productive (value-creating) work and work aimed at re-creating the worker or the capacity to work. Initially, domestic labor was synonymous with housework, but later on it came to encompass care work as well. A shift that is central occurs in Susan Himmetweit's work, which includes "emotional work" such as provision of love; tension management; and care of children, elders, and the sick.

Increasing participation of women in the labor force without substantial changes in the landscape of domestic labor has expanded discussions about unpaid and paid labor. However, it has not yet enlivened gender and class analysis as much as is needed.

Domestic labor—paid and unpaid—remains a theoretical riddle for the women's movement in general, and feminist economists in particular. Before delving into these discussions, it is necessary to more fully define domestic labor.

According to United Nations Development Fund for Women (current UNWomen) UNIFEM (2000) and Razavi (2007), there are several terms that refer to women's provision of goods and services within household boundaries for household members. These terms include "domestic labor,"[20] "housework," "household labor," "unpaid labor," "reproductive labor," "homework," and "care work." Most of these terms are still ambiguous—for instance, it is not clear whether "domestic labor" refers to the work of family members to maintain the home, or the work of paid domestic workers (UNIFEM, 2000).

The conventional definition of "work" considers it a function of the economically active population. According to the accepted definition of the International Labor Organization (ILO), the economically active population includes all persons of either sex who furnish the supply of labor for the production of economic goods and services (Beneria, 2003). In this case, "economic" refers to those goods and services that have a market value and are included in monetary circulation. Jean Gardiner (1997) based her definition of domestic labor on Margaret Reid's definition of household production: "Domestic labor is therefore defined as those unpaid household activities which could be done by someone other than the person who actually carries them out or could be purchased if a market for those activities existed" (p. 67). By this definition, personal

[20] In this article, "labor" and "work," as well as "laborer" and "worker," are used interchangeably. Jean Gardiner (1998), in her book *Gender, Care, and Economics*, differentiates between labor and work.

care activities that people typically perform for themselves (eating or washing) and leisure activities (watching movies or reading for pleasure) cannot be delegated to someone else. However, these *personal* and *leisure* care services are also provided to the sick, elderly, and children in the households. The definitional ambiguities are known to be an important factor in the undercounting of the amount of domestic labor that is actually performed. Domestic labor may or may not be counted as economic goods or services. It depends on who does the job (is there a market value?) and how social relations are arranged (is it by monetary circulation?). In general, domestic labor is grouped into two categories. This study introduces a third category that allows for a better understanding of gender and class cross-cutting.

Typology of Paid/Unpaid Domestic Work

We can categorize domestic labor into three forms: unpaid domestic labor of family members; paid domestic labor of servants, maids, and caretakers of children, the elderly, or sick persons; and unpaid, nonfamily domestic labor (both live-in and live-out). By examining the case of evlatlıks*,* this study particularly focuses on unpaid, live-in, nonfamily members' domestic labor. Similar arrangements are prevalent today and were prevalent during the early industrialization processes of the United States and European countries. While this practice currently seems to be disappearing in Turkey, similar arrangements remain prevalent around the world, such as forms of children's domestic labor and migrant women's labor. The latter involves not only women who have migrated from rural to urban areas, but also who have migrated internationally due to the poverty and vulnerabilities of mass populations. Debates on domestic labor as well as human

poverty and vulnerability intersect with the debates on the capabilities approach, both at the conceptual and methodological levels.

Whether paid or unpaid, domestic labor has always been carried out disproportionately by women across a variety of societies and cultures. My own childhood community had a high prevalence of unpaid live-in domestic workers. They were primarily young girls from rural areas and economically vulnerable families who went to live with urban middle-class or affluent families under conditions of quasi-adoption. While these young girls were seen as "family members" in the urban households they moved into, they mainly functioned as unpaid live-in domestic workers. Their status was ambiguous; pseudo-family members with whom the girls lived claimed the girls were treated like daughters, but if the phenomenon is viewed through a theoretical lens that unpacks these social relations in their context, it may argued to be servitude.

Unpaid Domestic Labor by Family Members

Unpaid domestic labor can be performed by mothers, daughters, sons, fathers, grandmothers, and other members of the extended family. Methods for measuring this form of unpaid labor were developed in Europe and several other countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in the mid-1960s. Time use surveys became a popular methodology by which to capture allocation of time within the household by all household members.[21] Many countries have since been conducting time use surveys (or

[21] Comprehensive information on time use can be found in the institutional websites of UNIFEM, UNSD, and the University of Essex: http://www.unifem.org/index.php?f_page_pid=123,

time budget surveys). These surveys measure what men/boys and women/girls do over the course of the day, in terms of both paid and unpaid activities that can be marked as economic and/or noneconomic. In a nonstandard form, these surveys created a foundation for national studies measuring unpaid work across genders using the input method. National studies have argued that there exists a decline in household labor. This decline largely stems from the fluctuation of women into and out of the labor market, which decreases their housework hours as they increase their labor force participation. The increased participation of women in the labor market has resulted in women delaying marriages until later in life, leading them to have fewer children. Time use surveys have emerged as a strong method for accounting for unpaid domestic work. Ironmonger (1996) reveals the significance of domestic labor for national production to the gross domestic product.[22]

Paid Domestic Work by Nonfamily Members

Paid domestic labor performed by nonfamily members includes occupations such as cleaner, housekeeper, nanny, and gardener[23]. These occupations could also be

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http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/timeuse/,
http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/misoc/timeuse/research/gendertime/

[22] According to Ironmonger (1996), unpaid domestic labor constitutes 58% of all work performed in Australia. This level of unpaid domestic labor would raise the gross domestic product from 48% to 64% if included in the annual accounts. Two-thirds of this work is done by women.

[23] ILO presents the most comprehensive data on occupational categories for Turkey, covering 1980, 1985, and 1990. Two subcategories are identified as domestic laborers: 1) maids and related work, and 2) housekeeping and related service supervisors. These statistics do not tell us much about paid workers who find jobs through informal arrangements. When we explore detailed occupational statistics for Turkey, ILO presents the most comprehensive data for the years 1980, 1985, and 1990. Two categories can be identified as domestic laborers: 1) maids and related work, and 2) housekeeping and related service supervisors. These statistics do not tell us much about paid workers who find jobs through informal arrangements and are therefore excluded from formal statistics. In formal occupational statistics, undercounting definitely occurs. In the 1990 State Institute of Statistics database on occupational classification, 30,036 persons were recorded as daily cleaners, servants, housekeepers, and related occupations in the population of 12 years of

performed by family-members. Paid, nonfamily domestic workers may live in or out of the home in which they work. As mentioned, in the majority of cases, supply and demand meet in the informal marketplace. Formal employment sources cannot capture the exchange between supply and demand. In the informal marketplace, word of mouth is the most common mechanism for these exchanges. Unless domestic workers belong to a union, or a private or public agency, it is difficult to trace these activities. Accuracy in evaluating these exchanges depends on the level of detail in household or census surveys. In the context of informal employment, reporting depends on the goodwill of the employer, head of the household, or whomever fills out the survey and census questionnaires. Another emerging source for information on paid domestic labor is the International Organization for Migration. Paid domestic workers can be grouped into two distinct categories: local domestic workers and migrant domestic workers. Local domestic workers supply their labor by word of mouth in certain parts of a neighborhood. As soon as one person makes an arrangement, work possibilities open for other laborers. Similar connections occur at the international level. However, limitations on the movement of labor across borders create "the middleman"—usually an agency that organizes the movement of people. Paid domestic laborers who work across borders may suffer serious repercussions for this activity. Often they find themselves in the middle of a scam.

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age and over. Of this total, 22,076 were women and girls. Most of these workers expected to be in formal service jobs such as tourism (www.die.gov.tr) and were therefore excluded from formal statistics.

Unpaid Domestic Labor by Nonfamily Members

This study identifies a third category of domestic labor: the labor of unpaid, nonfamily members of the household, who are called evlatlıks in Turkey. Although evlatlıks are fed, clothed, and given a basic education, they usually experience a lack of freedom and are unable to earn money of their own. Likewise, they may not accumulate material assets of their own. However, evlatlıks may utilize the pseudo-family's social and economic networks (commonly referred as resources). Access to the pseudo-family's resources may provide access to education, health, and labor market opportunities. Depending on the goodwill of the family, though, the complexity of the emotional terrain may be hard to navigate. The emotional bond between evlatlıks and the pseudo-household members creates a burden for evlatlıks due to power imbalances.[24] The burden may be that the evlatlık feels indebted to the family. Similar practices take place around the world.[25] However, there is a lack of research on why such practices emerge, evolve, disappear, and reappear. Qualitative research strategies such as field and case studies, small sample surveys, oral histories, participant observation, and a variety of others can be used to study this type of domestic labor. *Evlatlıks*[26] cannot be traced through larger surveys such as labor force, census, and demographic and health surveys (DHS), because their status is ambiguous. In a best-case scenario, censuses and DHS would be the

[24] Power imbalances do exist between biological family members as well. However, the game changes when class and racial differences exist. In fact, power imbalances are at the center of the discussions on gender division of labor. This study examines and describes subtle nuances that perpetuate gender- and class-related differences.

[25] In India, the word *didi* means "elder sister." "Didi" has become synonymous with "domestic laborer." Similarly, domestic laborers have been called *amahs* in China, *rejevaks* in Haiti, and *mammies* in the antebellum United States.

[26] Population census, demographic health surveys, and labor force surveys are major sources used to examine nonfamily members within households.

ultimate sources by which to trace information about nonfamily members, the invisible population.[27] Thus, prior to this fieldwork, the census surveys, labor force surveys, and DHS for Turkey were explored. However, while the DHS reports information on nonfamily members within households, it is impossible to identify their relationship to the head of the households. Currently, larger surveys are therefore not the best sources for collecting information about unpaid, live-in, nonfamily domestic workers. Few studies providing such information have been conducted in Turkey or other countries,[28] although this category is very relevant to the research that the International Labor Organization (ILO) launched in 1992 on child labor, wherein child domestic workers are considered a subcategory. Such domestic workers usually enter the household as young girls. They may be fed and clothed by the household and given a basic education. The ILO studies have shown that these girls come from poor households that cannot afford to keep their daughters. In the household where these girls work, their status is ambiguous. They might be described as "pseudo-daughters" (or "pseudo-sisters"). They lack the legal rights of the family members. However, these studies also discovered that giving away the female child, especially for a landless rural family, was a choice made to save her life. Desperation leads poor families to find unpaid work in wealthier households in order to survive. The same sentiment of "saving life" can be found in the families who take in such girls. As mentioned, though, the girls themselves experience a lack of freedom and

[27] For most, alternative living arrangements are coping strategies of poor and underprivileged groups: Older parents may live in their children's or other relatives' household; young rural girls or boys may live with relatives in an urban area; unmarried, divorced, or widowed women may live with relatives. These arrangements (i.e., coping strategies) are likely to create these groups that are hard to trace via comprehensive statistical surveys.

[28] Özbay (1999,2000, 2001) examines evlatlık labor in Turkey.

are unable to earn money of their own or accumulate material resources. Thus, this third form of domestic labor leads to the acute marginalization of these girls and women. They are not only ignored by governments and policymakers, but are also overlooked as valuable members of the households they have joined.

According to the categories in Figure 1, the decisive factors in identifying the type of domestic work are: 1) whether the work is paid or unpaid, which feminist economics perceives as a major divide, 2) whether the work is done on a live-in or live-out basis (i.e., whether the laborer lives in the household boundaries or outside of the household boundaries), and 3) whether the laborer is a family member or not. The laborer could be someone from the nuclear family, a relative, or a nonfamily member of the household. These categories are crucial to understanding the qualitative differences between forms of domestic work. Each factor brings its socioeconomic relations web into the story. For instance, the relationship between an employed mother and a live-in paid domestic laborer would be significantly different if the domestic laborer were live-out or unpaid or the mother were not employed. There are many similarities between the responsibilities of a full-time housewife and a full-time, live-in, unpaid domestic worker; however, there are tremendous material and emotional differences in terms of the processes and outcomes for each group. For example, evlatlıks' lives and benefits are tied firmly to the relations and personalities in each household. Benefits they may receive from the so-called "family relations" are extremely conditional to the particular family context in which they live. In addition, evlatlıks are invisible at the governmental level.

They do not belong to any particular constituency. Further, they are invisible at the personal level as well. In my own family, between the 1960s and 1980s, several

evlatlıks did all of the housework as well as the care work for me, my brother, my sister, and the elderly people in our household. The evlatlık practice was customary in the community and the region. It was the accepted way of life; nobody questioned it. We called evlatlıks *Abla*, meaning "elder sister." *Halayık* (which has a similar meaning to *evlatlık*) and *kız* (girl) were other two common names that were used. My family took them in because we needed extra hands for domestic labor, and the evlatlıks' families needed help raising their daughters. Domestic labor as a "way of life" provided a "natural" path for livelihoods for the evlatlıks. As my own family context has led me to recognize, domestic labor has held an ambiguous place in the work-life nexus over the centuries.

Domestic Labor Debate

A substantial debate took place in the 1970s in regards to whether domestic labor is productive or unproductive in the classic Marxian sense. Does it benefit men or capitalism, or both? Given disagreements about the conceptualization of domestic labor and its substantive significance, the most important agreement is that domestic labor constitutes the basis for inequality between the sexes and gives rise to some degree of exploitation of women by men as well as the poor by the rich. Domestic labor is a hidden subsidy for the overall economy.

The debate branched into a discussion of two cross-cutting systems of social power: a patriarchal system of gender oppression, and a capitalist system of economic class exploitation. Whether women formed a class or not depended on the position taken and/or how different groups understood class and dealt with economic reductionism.

These questions opened serious discussions on research methods and methodologies among feminist social scientists, especially between economists and other social scientists. For instance, numerous studies about paid domestic workers in thematic literature on informal work, immigration, family studies, gender, and women have not concentrated solely on economic theories. Most of the studies are about work status, condition, and place of work; treatment and attitude toward domestic workers; culture of domesticity; and gender roles.

As the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century grew near, the debate around domestic labor began to focus on the morals of employing paid and unpaid domestic workers in the home. Repetitive, difficult, dirty, mindless, and time-consuming tasks have always been passed on to lower-class, poor, disadvantaged workers, particularly women. This is true for activities inside or outside the home. Thus, the foundation of the gender division of labor remains unbroken. Higher-paid women employ meagerly paid or unpaid female domestic workers to do work they used to do themselves. The existence of informal markets for domestic labor perpetuates these class, gender, and racial inequalities.

Domestic labor and subsistence agriculture, as nonmarket forms of production, fell under the radar of economists until the early twentieth century, when the economic discipline began to narrow their definitions (Himmelweit, 1999). Margaret Reid (1934) coined the definition of domestic labor in her book *Economics of Household Production* by articulating the "third party criterion"[29] that is used to set the production boundary for

[29] Cyntia A. Wood (1997) summarizes Margaret Reid's "'third party criterion.'" The criterion sets an implicit market standard for defining nonmarket economic activity, which contributes to the marginalization of nonmarket production. Certain domestic labor activities, due to their "unpaid" form, will

most household production models. According to the statistical standards derived from international organizations' work, the production boundary includes: (a) the production of all individual or collective goods or services that are supplied to units other than their producers, or intended to be so supplied, including the production of goods or services used up in the process of producing such goods or services; (b) the own-account production of all goods that are retained by their producers for their own final consumption or gross capital formation; (c) the own-account production of housing services by owner-occupiers and of domestic and personal services produced by employing paid domestic staff (OECD, 2007, p. 622). Boundaries are defined well; however, the devil is in the detail. Who, where, how, in what condition, and through what type of relations production has taken place are crucial to a full understanding of how society values domestic labor.

Neoclassical Economic Approach (NEA) to Household Laborhas a limited capacity to describe the dynamics of "the household." The NE approach to the household can be summarized under the rubric of New Household Economics (NHE). This approach was spearheaded by Gary Becker in his earlier work, following Margaret Reid, and recognizes time and its allocation within the household as an economic problem. Becker models the household on market exchange relations based on the concepts of so-called comparative advantage between females and males, and the utility maximizing individual. Those who specialize in housework or market work should take up this role in the related sphere in order to maximize the overall utility of the household. His approach received a great deal

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continue to be viewed as nonmarket activity. If as certain domestic labor can be delegated to paid work (a wage-worker), then the activity must be considered economically productive.

of criticism from feminist economists (e.g., Bergmann, 1995; Ferber & Nelson, 1992; Folbre, 1982). However, Becker's discussions emphasized the importance of the household as both a consumption and production sphere. Feminist economists questioned Becker's "family" model while critiquing the concept of the rational economic man. The benevolent father figure, and the unity of the household, are two main areas that feminists have critiqued. Criticisms have focused on the historically constructed social relations between men and women as well as between different classes, races and ethnicities, and ages. Becker's theory holds as long as the following are true: women's *natural* place is at home, given the *fact* that women have the natural endowment of all skills that are associated with domestic labor; and members of the household have identical preferences without differential power. Power differences between the household members are not questioned, and the father's *altruism* is perceived to be universal and true. The remaining family members hope to be the recipient of this altruism (Folbre, 1994). It is important to note that, especially for this study, not all households consist of nuclear families. There are different types of households in which members are not all blood relatives. Most of the existing studies focus on domestic labor in nuclear families within households.

Marxian and mainstream economists delved into the domestic labor debate during the 1960s and 1970s with the aim of including domestic labor in economic theory (Jefferson & King, 2001). Two current studies (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2003; Jefferson & King, 2001) revisit the debate. While the former analysis offers concessions for neoclassical and Marxian economics, the work by Armstrong and Armstrong (2003)

urges a sex-conscious[30] analytical framework for political economics. Other current studies in domestic labor debate have been conducted by Fraad, Resnick, and Wolff (1994) and Gibson-Graham, Resnick, and Wolff (2000). Fraad, Resnick, and Wolff (1994) present exploitation in the sense of both oppression and surplus extraction within the household and the firm. The household is described as a feudal space in which not only are wives oppressed, but their surplus labor is extracted by a husband who is linked to the capitalist system. Their approach holds similarities to the Marxist-feminist dual systems theory (Young, 1983). Arguments based on experiences, tensions, and contradictions within the context of the United States are discussed with an exploration of different scenarios. Ancient as well as communist household types are discussed as emerging household models. Although the authors discuss an increase in the number of individuals who provide surplus labor in the household (which is the scenario in this case study), they do not elaborate on this point. Gibson-Graham, Resnick, and Wolff (2000) present the experiences of the laboring body with the aim of broadening the concept of class by exploring class processes (i.e., the process of producing, appropriating, and distributing surplus labor). These processes are in dialogue with social practices, personal experiences, violence, politics, and emotional possibilities. According to the authors, such analysis offers new possibilities for connecting class to its historical "others"—sites from which class has been excluded, subjects to whom class has been denied, activities that have been seen as "noneconomic", identities that have been devalued and

[30] The argument is *not* about the biological determination of the sexual division of labor that justifies separation between home and work. On the contrary, it is an effort to explain how sexual division of labor is fundamental to the class divide through women's reproductive capacities. Understanding this process breaks down the dichotomy between production and reproduction.

subordinated to class. In the process it may create a desire for new forms of class politics, perhaps even in those with no desire for that desire (Gibson-Graham, Resnick, & Wolff, 2000, p. 2).

In the end, both schools were unable to deal with the theoretical problems that domestic labor raised. The major limitation was the production boundary in economic theory. Therefore, domestic labor could find a home neither in Marxian economics (ME) nor in neoclassical economics (NE). Nevertheless, different visions of feminist political economy emerged and have been developing ever since the women's movement of the 1960s. While numerous assessments on feminist political economy (Mutari, 2001; Armstrong & Armstrong, 2003) and theorizations of women's work (Gregory & Windebank, 2000; Korczynski, Hodson, & Edwards, 2006) have been published, a unified theory of domestic labor is yet to emerge. Perhaps, however, a unified theory of domestic labor is not necessary. The debate on domestic labor was able to identify theoretical problems, but lost its momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. Maxine Molyneux (1979) points out the limitations of this effort: economic reductionism, the functionalist mode of argument in constructing the relationship between capitalism and domestic labor, and the narrow focus on the labor performed in the domestic sphere at the expense of theorizing the broader familial and household context. At the same time, the domestic labor debate tended to assume that performers of unpaid domestic labor are members of the family. To play a role in addressing the limitations of the domestic labor debate, this study is formulated to consider the broader familial and household context by situating the discussion of unpaid domestic work in family- and household-level economic strategies, by going beyond economic reductionism and also considering the ideological

and emotional aspects of domestic labor and reproduction. In this study, reproduction of class relations within households through unpaid domestic work—and in particular, through the relationship between pseudo-mothers and evlatlıks—is examined.

The complexity of the domestic labor debate emerges from the intricate interaction between the forces of that constitute patriarchy and capitalism. Patriarchy[31] causes the subordination and oppression of women by men in the household, community, and society at large by economic, social, and political means, while capitalism causes the subordination and oppression of lower classes by upper classes. The mutual interaction of patriarchy and capitalism was at the center of discussions on domestic labor, which did conclude by laying a new theoretical ground. Rich descriptive studies were accumulated during this period. Hartmann (1976) examined the forces of capitalism and patriarchy, investigating women's exclusion from well-paying occupations. She described how capitalist development created the "male breadwinner" (i.e., "family wage") model that benefits men, giving them control and access to their wives' domestic labor. Humphries (1977), as well as Barrett and McIntosh (1980), argued that women also benefit from higher family wages. Kandiyoti (1988) underscores how women have both resisted and accommodated male dominance through constant negotiations, "making patriarchal bargains." Domestic labor debates have explained husbands' control over wives as well as capitalism's increasing surplus extraction of wives' labor. However, these debates have not spent much time on the concept of class as a women-to-women conflict. The women-to-women aspect of class conflict has emerged as an important issue in the

[31] Represents a historical developed reality of domination by male superiority through gaining ownership and control of resources, given a biologically determined gender division of labor backed by religious foundations.

domestic labor debate, and it needs to be integrated into gender and class analysis. If this conflict is not discussed, it will continue fueling the perpetuation of class differences and devaluation of housework. If housework cannot be acknowledged as "real" work, housewives and domestic laborers in general cannot unite with working-class men and women as "workers," alienating a vast spectrum of people who might otherwise become part of the movement base, which means class transformation may never occur. Such a perspective, if acquired, will eventually transform the meaning of "work" and alter our understanding of gender and class. In the *Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism*, Heidi Hartman (1979) describes three Marxist feminist approaches and concludes that "Marx, Zaretsky, and Dalla Costa all failed to analyze the labor process within the family sufficiently. Who benefits from women's labor? Surely capitalists, but also surely men who as husband and fathers receive personalized services at home. The extent of the caring services may vary by class, or ethnic or racial groups. Moreover, women may also exercise class, gender, race, age, or even patriarchal power over men. Women exercise power over women. The relationship of feminisms to class can be played out fair and just depending on what kind of feminism is considered. There are women who adopt patriarchal and class power.

Juliet Mitchell (1966, 1971) critiqued the economic reductionism of the classical Marxist approach. She argued for a unified approach of the radical feminist formulation of women's oppression and Marxist historical analysis in examining production, reproduction, socialization, and sexuality—a social reproductive framework that Ferguson (1998) advocated. She states,

Although economic reductionism has little to offer in this regard, one often

> neglected strain of socialist feminism—social reproduction theory—is more promising. If socialist feminism is to exist as anything more than an intellectual artifact, it is essential to engage with the anti-capitalist insights promoted by those working within the social reproduction framework. (p. 22)

Margaret Benston's (1969) research into the relationship of unpaid domestic labor and the economic system raised the question of why women still spend much of their time in domestic labor and remain in subordinate positions in society. These questions led British Marxist feminists to a debate on the significance of unpaid domestic labor performed by women in the analysis of capitalism, which was overlooked in Marxist economics theory (Gardiner, 1998).[32] Molyneux (1979) states that women's search for the material origins of oppression via historical materialism brings them closer to Marxism, igniting a highly abstract debate. Although abstraction is needed in theoretical work, it cannot provide a rich, textured, nuanced analysis. This is not to say that the debate was not rich. On the contrary, the debate led to a better understanding of the intricate mechanisms, simultaneous processes, and overlapping tendencies of capitalist accumulation and domestic labor. It is important to mention that the theory behind this debate was based on the United Kingdom and the United States experiences. Gardiner states, "it is impossible to analyze domestic labor in abstraction from the social relationships to which it is linked, relationships between wives, husbands, mothers, fathers, children and other dependent household members" (Gardiner, 1998, p. 10). That is why a new framework for the domestic labor debate must be used in this study, which it is necessary to articulate.

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[32] Jean Gardiner (1997) bases her definition of domestic labor on Margaret Reid's definition of household production. She defines domestic labor as those unpaid household activities that could be done by someone other than the person who actually carries them out, or that could be purchased if a market for those activities existed (i.e., the third-party criterion).

Two main positions have emerged from the domestic labor debate: 1) domestic labor subsidizes capitalist production and enhances productivity by means of reproducing labor power, and 2) domestic labor is essential for the reproduction of labor power, and as such, it is not a subsidy. As mentioned above, the debate branched into a discussion of two cross-cutting systems of social power: a patriarchal system of gender oppression, and a capitalist system of economic class exploitation. Whether women form a class or not depended on the position taken. A few socialist feminists retreated into an economic reductionism, while others moved increasingly toward a purely cultural explanation of women's oppression that has culminated in feminist postmodernism. Several other views existed between these two groups. The non-Marxist materialist feminist Christine Delphy argued that women form a class. She explained the subordination of women through marriage by their husbands' appropriation of their labor power (Himmeweit, 1999). Slyvia Walby (1990) agreed with Delphy but argued that housewives in particular, rather than all women, form a class. In the late 1990s, however, within a broader discussion of globalization, postmodern feminists began investigating materialist explanations for whether women form a class. Seccombe (1974) argued that much descriptive work on women's oppression emerged after the 1960s wherein women's life circumstances were clearly reported with thin analysis. The exception to this tendency was the Marxist analysis of the housewife's labor in the capitalist system.

Selma James and Maria Dalla Costa (1972)[33] argued for how essential domestic labor

[33] The "wages for housework" idea has been advocated for by the "Global Women's Strike Campaign." Inclusion of women's unpaid work as economic activity in the Venezuelan constitution is one of their most important achievements in their work on domestic labor issues. The Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela's Article 8 states: "The State guarantees equality and equity between men and women in the exercise of their right to work. The State recognizes work at home as an economic activity that creates

is for production. They did not contest the idea that domestic labor is productive labor, and they advocated—and still do advocate—wages for housework. Housewives, a massive laboring group in the later phase of capitalism, have stayed completely outside the organizations and struggles of the proletariat (Seccombe, 1974). Their advocacy initiated a significant confrontation with the workers' movement. The "wages for housework" argument is still contested by many feminists. Most feminists are skeptical of this idea, on the basis that the housework will be the ultimate sex-specific paid job for women if the idea materializes. The result of my empirical work, and the growing number of studies about domestic workers in the context of globalization and migration[34] (Anderson, 2000; Chin, 1998; Ehrenrich & Hochschild, 2003; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Parrenas, 2001; Phyllis, 1989; Silvera, 1983) as well as literature on child domestic laborers[35] (Anti-Slavery, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2006; ILO, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b) provide substantial evidence to support the "wages for housework" argument once again in gender and class analysis. Dalla Costa and James (1972) argued that domestic labor (except for its unpaid nature) is similar to wage labor, in that it produces surplus value.

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added value and produces social welfare and wealth. Housewives are entitled to Social Security in accordance with the law." According to www.globalwomenstrike.org, articles of the constitution are printed on milk cartons and food wrappers.

[34] During the past two decades, scholars have been arguing about "feminization of migration." Throughout the 1990s, more than half of the migrants to the United States, Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Argentina, and Israel were women (Ehrenrich & Hochschild, 2003). Migrants from South Asia to the Gulf States and Europe are also predominantly women, and almost all are domestic workers. In official documents, it is argued that illegal migration takes place at least as much as legal migration and mainly includes domestic workers. Migrant domestic workers also end up at very low-paying jobs or without cash income, benefits, and long-term security.

[35] According to the International Labor Organization's International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO-IPEC), there are more than 212 million child laborers in the world. Various other estimates put the number at 250–260 million. Domestic workers and child prostitutes are the least researched category, although researchers are showing an increased interest in this area. Comprehensive statistics do not exist for these categories. Estimates for child domestic labor are as high as three million, if not more (ILO, 2004; UNICEF, 2004). According to the ILO, most of the statistics are compiled through local studies and are more likely to underestimate the situation. There are no figures for North America and Europe.

Benston (1969) also argued that women should demand pay for the work they do at work. Historically, but especially after industrialization, the domestic sphere was pushed outside of the economic system. Public-private dichotomies were accentuated by changes in production systems as well as shifts in cultural, social, and religious terrains. Meanwhile, the ideology of the family as the social factory residing in the private household was strengthened. Of course, the "wages for housework" argument attracted substantial criticisms. Peterson and Lewis (1999), as well as Mallos (1980), argued that wages for housework would escalate the gender division of labor even further. They also emphasized difficulties in assigning[36] a proper wage for housework. Existing schemes of state contributions to social reproduction provisioning[37] require close attention within the effort to build the argument for housework wages.

However, it must be noted that commodification and/or social policy have neither improved gender and class equality nor eliminated domestic labor, as even those countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands, and others with strong records on social policy in terms of domestic labor have developed informal markets for domestic services. Schwenken (2005) and Botman (2008) explore the informal domestic worker market in Amsterdam. In their ongoing study of informal domestic workers in Sweden and Italy, Julia O'Connell Davidson and Bridget Anderson find that the high rate of women's participation in the labor force, good public provision of childcare services, and separate taxation along with high marginal tax rates (Razavi, 2007) does not prevent the emergence of the informal domestic work market. If domestic work had a formal wage,

[36] Beneria (2003) summarizes the alternative valuation methods of unpaid work.
[37] Antonopoulos (2007).

millions of girls (and for that matter, boys in some regions such as South Asia) might not have been lured into unpaid domestic work as invisibly used and abused people.

Although the debate is convoluted, it is clear that prioritization is needed to manage the complexity of patriarchal and capitalist relations. We need to put vulnerable and poor populations at the center of the discussion and rethink the domestic labor debate as a whole. Capturing poor and vulnerable women's point of view is necessary for forward-thinking responses. If unpaid or underpaid domestic labor were recognized as economic activity and received formal wages with benefits, there would be less poverty both in income and in the human dimension for women. The women's movement has always held contradictions, just like many other unified movements (Dixon, 1977). Beneria (2003) argues that gains for some groups of women have contributed to losses for others. Those gains and losses need qualitative scrutiny. Contradictions are part of the nature of change—but we must ask what or for whom change is serving, and pose questions about the long-term sustainability of justice, fairness, and equity for those changes. For instance, just as "wages for housework" is a contested international[38] advocacy issue today, supporting welfare, subsidized housing, unemployment insurance, food stamps, and public schools can also be contested in terms of being reformist rather than revolutionary. Nonetheless, all of these issues or processes—even if contradictory—are resources for people's livelihoods. Evlatlıks' life and work dynamics are investigated in the similar context of loss and gain within this study, which shows that women in middle- and upper-middle-class households target some short-term gains for themselves

[38] Visit www.globalwomenstrike.org for further information.

while paving the way to long-term losses for evlatlıks. Although the evlatlık phenomenon involves unpaid domestic labor, it shares many similarities with paid domestic labor issues.

Many case studies on paid domestic workers highlight the problematic relationship between the employer (in most cases, the wife of the household) and the employee (domestic workers) (Anderson, 2000; Chin, 1998; Ehrenrich & Hochschild, 2002; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Meagher, 2003; Palmer, 1989; Parrenas, 2001; Rollins, 1985; Silvera, 1983). As long as domestic labor as an economic activity remains on the margins and is not acknowledged as "real work," paid domestic workers will always be part of the informal sector, seen as an inferior type of laborers. However, increasing activism around the issue and among workers themselves has been opening some doors in labor legislation. Increasingly, Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) and activist groups in developed countries are working with and for domestic workers to better their working conditions, striving to achieve justice and equality for them in the labor force. Kalayan, RESPECT, VOMADE, and BABAYLAN are some of the organizations in Europe fighting for this goal. United Domestic Workers of America is the largest such group in the United States, and the majority of its members are domestic workers. Most of these domestic workers originate from poor households in poor countries, or countries in transition or crisis. These women leave their own household, often leaving behind their children, parents, or husband, in order to take care of some other household and its members for a minimal cash income while facing substantial adversity. These domestic workers not only face physical and mental violence, but their loved ones who are left behind suffer from a care deficit. If they had stayed home instead of taking advantage of

the "option to leave," however, their households might not even have the minimum cash income. The poor woman's vulnerability feeds the perpetuation of the gender-based division of labor. She is vulnerable because her household members may suffer if she does not take care of their practical needs. This action, however, impedes her own strategic interest, which is freeing herself from her gender role. What is a desirable outcome for this woman? How can she be empowered?[39] She certainly makes choices; can she make choices that transform into outcomes of wellbeing for herself and her family? Why is she making the choices she is making? The context, outcomes, and processes involved can be better understood with a framework that outlines strategic and practical gender needs and interests. In fact, an examination of her interests and needs brings patriarchy and capitalism into the same discussion.

Initially, concepts of strategic and practical gender interests were introduced by Molyneaux (1985), whose work was further developed by Moser (1989) and Aslop (1993), who provided helpful conceptual distinctions. *Strategic* refers to issues derived from the analysis of women's subordination to men. *Practical* refers to concrete conditions—everyday situations in which women find themselves. *Practical gender needs* relate to women's traditional gender roles and responsibilities in real-life experiences. Women usually voice the need for housing, food, water, clothing, and access to health. *Strategic gender needs* address issues of equity—the systemic factors that embody prejudice against women. Strategic needs are also identified as being much harder to secure than practical needs.

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[39] The term "empowerment" is commonly used to indicate both a process (of empowering groups or individuals) and an outcome (a person or group being empowered) (Aslop & Heinsohn, 2005), UNIFEM (2000) argues.

Since there are various visions of feminism as well as distinct schools of economics, it is difficult to formulate a united feminist political economics. In fact, one may benefit from the methodological and philosophical approaches of different visions of feminist economics while not seeking a unified approach. Feminist research in economics, especially during the late twentieth century, focused on the issues of the labor market, searching for obstacles toward women's labor force participation and examining occupational segregation and discrimination. Finding ways to solve such problems has been advocated as the route to empowerment of women, leading to freedom from oppression and control. Simultaneous discussions have taken place in regards to women's role as domestic laborers and how this role has disadvantaged women in the labor market. Most discussions have centered on how many women enter into the labor market, while not addressing how many more stay in the household as the silent workers. The latter includes millions of child domestic workers, as well as mothers, girls, and other female members of households and communities. The relationship between privileged women and poor and/or vulnerable women is an ongoing riddle. Privileged women have always been able to hire or house poor and vulnerable women to take care of housework, children, and the elderly. The past ten years have been a phenomenal period of domestic labor migration from Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe to various destinations, which are primarily industrialized countries. An increased number of people are moving from place to place, between continents, to provide care for others.

According to Marilyn Power (2004), social provisioning comprises "economic activity [that] involves the ways people organize themselves collectively to get a living" (p. 6). Many social scientists and prominent economists such as Adam Smith, Thorstein

Veblen, and John Commons urge us to redefine economics as the study of social provisioning. Armstrong and Armstrong (1983) argue that "economy" is not only composed of commodity production, but also the production and reproduction of people. This so-called system is organized to meet all human needs. The authors assert, "the ways people co-operate to provide for their daily and future needs, combined with the techniques and materials at their disposal, establish the framework within which all human activity takes place" (p. 13). An economy is a system in which people organize to meet all human needs; it is not merely production of goods. The material basis of women's oppression can be understood by exploring how people organize to meet their needs.

Later in the twentieth century, mainstream and neoclassical economists such as Lionel Robbins (1935) argued that economics is preoccupied with the allocation of scarce resources toward the satisfaction of human wants. Feminist economists and feminist social scientists have been visioning a new feminist political economics in line with this philosophy. Today, we are still at a point where more work has to be done to bring economic determinism closer to a combination of cultural, psychological, and religious determinism. A balance must be found—where do they all meet—especially when the household is at the center of the discussion, as a sphere where both gender and class exist. This discussion then prompts us to identify what "class" and "gender" mean. In her reply to Fraad, Resnick, and Wollf (1994), Coontz (2005) states the need for a theory explaining the interdependence of household processes that are noncapitalist and worksite processes that are capitalist. This theory must explain how household values and work done within the household are undermined by the economic, political, and cultural

processes of the capitalist workplace. Feminist economists' response to Fraad, Resnick, and Wollf's (1994) discussion of feminist concerns, the debates should shift from their focus on "what housework contributes economically to capital" to "what kind of values; economics, social, political (personal) can be learned from housework activities and relations in order to shift paradigm". In other words, instead of assimilating housework into the capitalist mode of production, we should bring positive aspects of household relations into the capitalist mode of production. This understanding holds parallels between the sustainable development paradigm as well as the human development paradigm, especially in regards to understanding the multidimensionalities of poverty. From early in life, household relations shape individuals in terms of their capability-building. The participants in this study describe the lack of capability-building processes that were available to them in the households where they worked as evlatlıks, and the obstacles that hindered or prevented their development into empowered women. While we center poverty in our discussions as feminist political economists, we have to invest more of our time, research, and teaching into cultivating different approaches to understanding human poverty. The capabilities approach needs to be used more extensively in our studies of paid and unpaid spheres of women's work and life. Only through this approach will we be able to better understand gender and class processes and their interactions, as a sophisticated tool is necessary to do gender and class (or race and class, race and gender, etc.) analysis.

Class and Gender Process

Depending on the disciplinary lenses, "class process" and "gender process" can be distinguished in different ways. For instance, Marxian economists' understanding of "class process" includes production, appropriation, and distribution of surplus labor. They ask, what is the importance of labor in the production process? Who owns labor power? Who uses it? Some Marxian theorists focus on historical property and asset ownership relations, while others focus on political power relations. Poststructuralist Marxian theory focuses on overdetermination: the significance of all social, natural, economic, and political processes in the determination of all of these processes. The feminist "class process" approach strives to understand the relations beyond the economic mainstream but also looks at economic dynamics. The poststructuralist approach has been influential for feminist interpretations of class and gender processes, helping break down rigid relationships as well as grand narratives used by economists. However, socioeconomic reality can also be viewed in a different way. For instance, the production process is embedded in an invisible social and political backdrop. Breaking the rigid inner logic of production, we can use different approaches to ask how production is embedded in social relations.

Gender relations has been studied in a variety of ways among feminist economists and feminist theorists as well as those who study family and individual development. Feminist economists, given the economic school of thought they adhere to and the feminist theory they identify with, may define gender process in varied ways. Feminist theorists, especially the radical feminists as well as the psychoanalytical feminists, go beyond economic determinism to explain gender process. For instance, according to

Matthaei and Brant (2001) and hooks (1984), the gender process of womanhood has a different meaning for a black working-class woman than it does for a white middle-class woman. The race process of whiteness has a different meaning for a white middle-class woman than it does for a white upper-class man, and the class process has a different meaning for a white middle-class man and a black middle-class woman. Although it is useful to have abstract discussions about race, gender, and class, these are distinct processes and they need attention. Different contexts shows how class processes have shaped and been shaped by other social categorizations such as gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and nationality. In this study, evlatlıks' experiences emerge from the core of the gender and class processes. Young girls' separation from their biological families, and their experience working and living at their pseudo-households, portrays a clear story of interaction of gender and class processes. A rural girl child emerges as a "natural" candidate for domestic laborer in an urban household, all in the name of goodwill. This was a common story for white working-class families (Amott & Matthaei, 1996; Hartmann, 1979; Scott & Tilly, 1978;) and it remains a continuing phenomenon for lower-class females in the third world.

International and national gender advocacy organizations, as well as academics, have developed different frameworks for gender analysis. There are multiple gender analysis approaches to exploring gender processes, some of which also include class analysis. Carolyn Moser's (1989) triple roles framework is a highly popular gender analysis framework. Naila Kabeer's(1994) social relations framework is a useful tool for gender and class analysis. The equality and empowerment framework, gender roles framework, and gender analysis matrix are the primary frameworks used by the United

Nations agencies.

As discussed earlier, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, feminists argued that class theory ignores gender theory, particularly in terms of differing class positions among women. Ignorance of women's paid and unpaid work, depending on their class background, makes many women invisible.

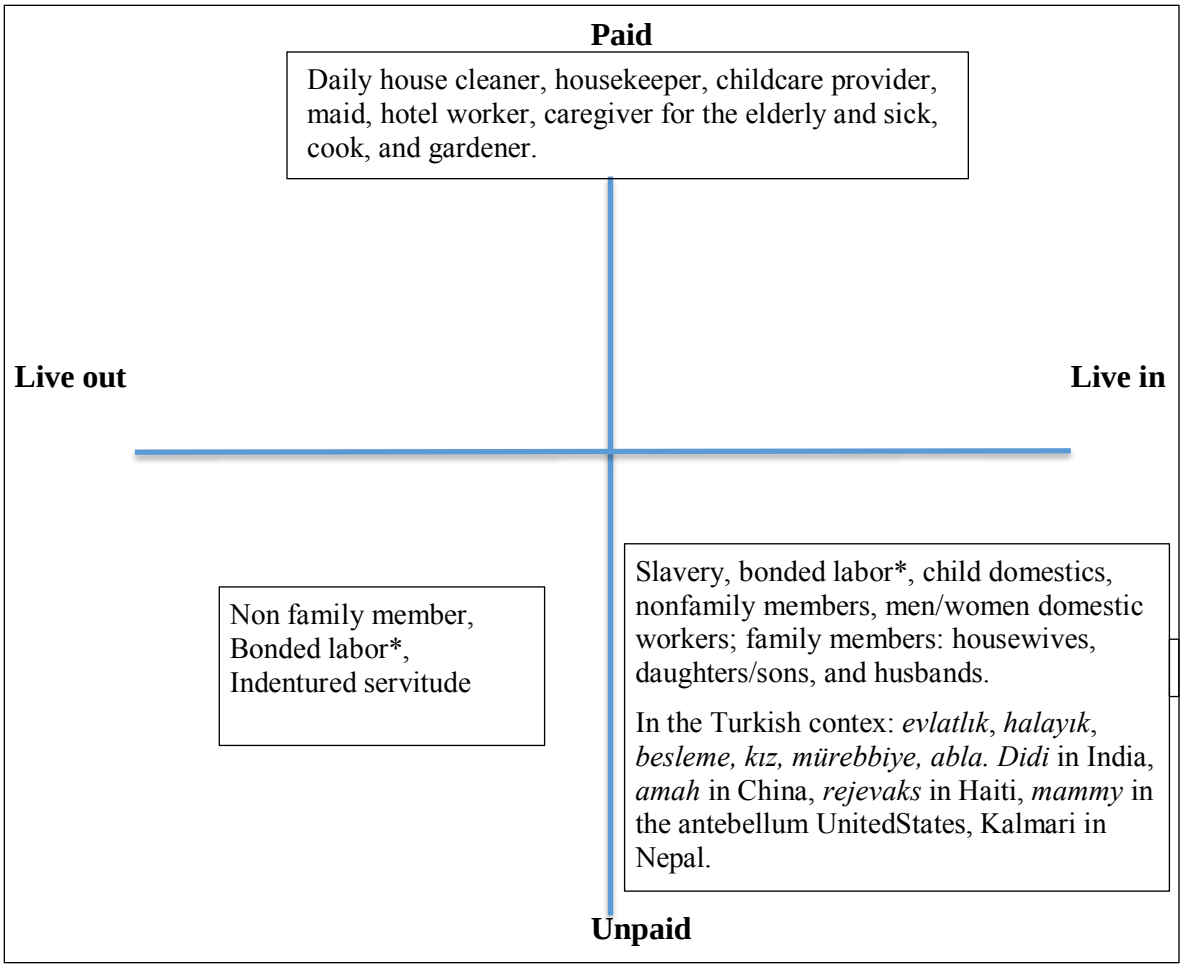

Figure 1. Understanding basic forms (typology) of domestic labor

*Bonded labor is working in conditions of servitude in order to pay off a debt incurred by relatives. For child bonded labor, the debtors are parents or guardians.

4 METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

This study relies on life histories of former evlatlıks to evaluate the impact of their evlatlık experience on their wellbeing. Understanding the lives of those who are deemed "minorities" requires alternative ways of study and creative questioning. Understanding women from poor, marginalized populations is about breaking the stereotype of "normal" that is often promoted by mainstream scholars. Certain methods and methodologies are perceived as superior in mainstream economics due to their use of mathematical expressions and generalizations of how people behave and make choices—a view that stands in stark contrast to the methods used here.

The life histories of evlatlıks were captured through open-ended, unstructured interviews with them as well as from my own personal experience.[40] Using the snowball method, I found interview participants in the Mediterranean region. Prefield work activities began with long-distance phone conversations with my own family and childhood community members who live in Turkey. Before setting foot in the field, I began tracing people by telephone. I also extensively used email to connect with

[40]Fullbrook (2004) reiterates the demands of economics students from 17 countries in an open letter to all economics departments, calling on them to reform economics education and research by adopting the broadband approach. Interdisciplinary dialogue and empirical grounding are possible through expanded research methods. Fullbrook (2004) states, "Procedures such as participant observation, case studies and discourse analysis should be recognized as legitimate means of acquiring and analyzing data alongside econometrics and 'formal' modelling. Observation of phenomena from different vantage points using various data-gathering techniques may offer new insights into phenomena and enhance our understanding of them" (p. 5).

women's networks and friends in Turkey to find people who used to have evlatlıks in their households and/or who have known someone who had lived as an evlatlık.

I prepared over 40 questions to use in the interviews with former evlatlıks for my application to the Institutional Review Board (IRB). These questions were shared with my own family and several other households that used to have evlatlıks. Initially, I planned to conduct unstructured interviews with the members of the pseudo-families. Instead, I conducted a focus group discussion with eight women from pseudo-families. This discussion was instrumental in planning the fieldwork. I received strong negative feedback from the focus group as well as from my own family about the listed questions. My own mother was extremely critical about this project, saying, "These questions cannot be asked," "Who do you think you are?" and "Do you think this study will do any good for those girls?" After a couple of conversations, I never spoke to my mother about the study again. She died in the summer of 2006 after I completed the field work in Turkey.

I did not ask those questions to the participants, yet having the questions in my mind helped me to continue listening to the participants. In order to understand a participant's point of view and her world, I needed to have thoroughly outlined my questions and concerns. In order to collect accurate information, an interview must be flexible, objective, empathetic, and persuasive, and the interviewer must be a good listener. Unstructured interviews can be creatively open-ended (Jack, 1985). These interviews are similar to oral histories. The researcher should be flexible and adapt to changing situations. Long hours of socialization are necessary for the participant and researcher to feel free and familiar with one another. The researcher and the interviewee

create a bond with one another in this way. Rushing into information gathering would not be fruitful. In fact, showing respect for the interviewee's time and space leads to the most fruitful communication. My fieldwork started with long-distance phone conversations with my childhood community members. Initial conversations were with the people closest to me: my parents, aunt, and other members of my childhood community. I used email to reach as many people in Turkey as possible, such as members of women's organizations and high school friends. My mother's and her friends' tea parties helped me the most in this outreach, since their age group and socioeconomic status were similar to those who had evlatlıks or knew someone who had one. Through these sources, the snowball technique worked quite well, albeit with several frustrating experiences and numerous dead ends. Since the community had completely transformed into a new neighborhood and people had moved to different parts of the town or country, it was not a straightforward process. Some had moved away without a trace. Nevertheless, having grown up within this community, in a household with multiple nonfamily members, gave me an advantage in reaching participants.

During the actual fieldwork, the snowball method was used to find prospective participants. Of 48 prospect participants, 20 were interviewed directly and 2 were interviewed indirectly. Interviews were tape-recorded. Of the other 26 potential participants, 17 declined to participate in the study. Four declined without reason, 2 mentioned being sick, 2 stated that they could not handle discussing the past, and 9 accepted the preliminary conversation yet declined the final interview. Nine other potential participants could not be reached. One person was deceased, and 3 were found to have moved overseas. The last 5 potential participants, in spite of many phone calls

and investigations in several neighborhoods, were not found.

After the fieldwork, several other people contacted me to say they knew women fitting the description of my participants. A woman who was a rich landowner from Antakya told me that she could put me in touch with 10 women whom she had raised over the years while she benefited from their domestic labor services. She mentioned that this practice was a lifestyle for needy people. They survived this way, she said. Later, participants identified several other potential interviewees during my recall sessions in spring of 2006. At that point, it was not possible to conduct new field research. Moreover, the stories were proving similar and patterns were emerging. Substantial differences in other stories were not expected. However, that does not mean that the richness of the stories would have diminished (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In fact, increasing the number of participants was an enticing prospect because the interviews, a very enjoyable yet emotional experience, were my favorite part of this research.

I conducted the interviews in the summer of 2004. Organizing the interviews and talking to the 22 participants took four months. Explaining the project and breaking the ice proved difficult. One has to have a casual approach and give the potential participant considerable time and space to decide whether or not to participate without pressure. In most cases, I had to call participants multiple times to talk and make arrangements to meet, and then spend time with them. I had to let them know what I was interested in learning, why I was doing it, and who I was. This kind of information gathering requires as much socialization as one can manage. We are all humans, and we feel more comfortable and open to conversation as we get to know another person. Of course, some

of us are much more talkative than others. Having some long-distance conversations on the phone, especially with pseudo-family members and relatives, was the hardest aspect of this process. They were defensive. Their immediate reaction was that I was questioning and judging their past. This search could easily have been extended if additional funds were available, in order to gain more perspectives from pseudo-family members. In the future, another round of long interviews could be conducted with the "employers." In this round, I did have short conversations with employers, mainly by phone.

In-depth interviews and personal experiences may be studied from various methodological and philosophical perspectives. My perspective in this study is a non-positivist methodology that I use to analyze narratives collected during long conversations with participants. Feminist conceptual discussions create natural alliances with nonpositivist qualitative methodologies. Nonpositivist qualitative methodologies are central in exploring, understanding, and defining human development, human poverty, and vulnerabilities.[41] Feminist economists (Nelson, 1998; Pujol, 1997) have been writing about the dichotomy that leaves a feminist way of thinking and accumulating knowledge

[41] The nonpositivist, qualitative, methodological stance I have taken is a constructivist-grounded theory that celebrates firsthand knowledge of the empirical world while seeking middle ground between postmodernism and relativism. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) argue that "constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed, and aims toward interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 250). Thus, we need an approach similar to Max Weber's understanding of sociology, *verstehen*, to explore multiple truths of the researcher and the participants. My approach relies on an interpretation of the collected stories as well as my long-term lived experience. The emphasis of my approach on firsthand knowledge requires empathy. The ability to understand other people's inner feelings and difficulties provides a means of exploring different socioeconomic worlds. Grounded theory often comes closer to traditional positivism in that it does not consider multiple realities. Rather, it uses methods that consist of systematic data collection and analytical interpretation of data to develop, refine, and inform theory with assumptions of an objective, external reality. A *neutral* observer discovers data.

out of what is called "science." Sandra Harding (1993) questions science and knowledge accumulation, asking, what is knowledge? Whose knowledge is scientific? Can science be value-free? Feminist economists aim to unbox the knowledge that stems from laypersons' experiences—knowledge about oppression, domination, and power. As Harding argues, this act is not political; it is bringing existing knowledge out, un-boxing it, unearthing it. Questioning what constitutes "scientific" knowledge, what science is and what economists understand as science has caused difficulties during my fieldwork. Harding's understanding of scientific knowledge has provided encouragement for conducting my interviews. A complete socioeconomic study needs an emotional element. Combined with intuition, conscience, and morality, these approaches can be folded into knowledge accumulation. Unfortunately, economics have been shaped and reshaped over the years by a historical dichotomous mode of thinking.

To carry out this research, I conducted in-depth interviews. Therefore, conversations with participants and my own experience constitute the empirical base for this research. The collected stories provide details about participants' lives, not necessarily following a predesigned structure. The interviews can be considered semi-structured, since I had prepared questions for myself in order to steer the conversation from time to time. The approach used in this study shadows the socialist feminist approach that is "nothing less than the confluence of Marxist, radical and more arguably, psychoanalytic streams of feminist thought"[42] (Tong, 1989, p. 173). The group of women

[42] There has been great resistance against synthesizing Marxism and psychoanalysis due to the Marxist understanding of revolutionary change (Foreman, 1977). According to Marx, revolutionary change emerges from the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. Change depends on the struggle between groups, not individuals; therefore, social consciousness rather than individual consciousness plays the most significant role. This is another dualism we need to address: the fact that the individual and the

who were engaged in the evlatlık institution represents an intermingling of three phenomena: child labor, rural-urban migration, and the informality of domestic labor. In this context, conflict between lower-class women and middle- and upper-middle-class women manifests itself in many emotional stories, and the psychological depth of the interviews is a significant element of the study. However, the study has not used any theories in psychology for the analysis, which may be the next step for future research.

The conceptual framework in feminist economics is directly influenced by the dominant methods and methodologies in the social sciences. Methodological discussions in academia are almost always connected to the abstract philosophical foundations of the methodologies. Abstract forms of thought can be captured in people's everyday lives. Thus, fieldwork is a way for economic researchers to bring philosophy back into their discipline. The majority of economists have always been producing work from their comfortable chairs. Instead, economists ought to spend time in the field to push the boundaries of the discipline.

The impact of dualism in economic thought is strong (Chick, 1995; Nelson, 1992) Thus, it is crucial to understand the coexistence of so-called "opposites."[43] In economic

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social are different sides of the same coin. Marxists who are concerned with rethinking the theory continue to explore the so-called incompatibility between Marxism and psychoanalysis (Fraad, Resnick, & Wolff, 1994; Gibson-Graham, Resnick, & Wolff, 2000). I would argue that the so-called incompatibility lies in the Marxist concept of class rather than in the Marxist understanding of social consciousness and its incompatibility with the psychoanalytical understanding of individual consciousness. The social-individual dichotomy will be discussed in section 1.

[43] The Cartesian view of reality has divided the process of thought. Dualism separates abstract thought mechanisms as well as the concrete phenomena experienced by people. This worldview positions many qualities as opposites in a dichotomy—objective/subjective, emotional/rational, precise/vague, public/private, productive/reproductive, rigorous/intuitive, formal/informal, agent/structure, masculine/feminine, and scientific/non-scientific—which are frequently discussed in the social sciences as well as in feminist economics (Nelson, 1999,2003). Scientific/non-scientific duality is indeed the overarching duality that has occupied the minds and hearts of researchers for centuries. Questioning "scientific knowledge" has been a methodological, philosophical, and practical matter for feminist economists (Barker, 2003; Barker & Kuiper, 2004).

theory, human activities are typically separated as economic/noneconomic, productive/unproductive, and paid/unpaid. Van der Lecq (1996) compares how Victoria Chick (1995) and Julie Nelson (1992) address the impact of dualism in economics. He states, "Dualism is a term that, ironically enough, has two meanings: both 'the state of having two main parts or aspects' and 'the state of believing that something has two main parts or aspects'" (p. 2). Both Chick (1995) and Nelson (1992), by using different entry points, describe how economic thought is based on dualism, in that it places all the weight for any given socioeconomic positionality on one side or the other of a dichotomy. In order words, such thought processes have created and enforced strong dichotomies. Economic theorists have to remind ourselves to push the boundaries in the domains of economics, philosophy of science, methods and methodology and, above all, in practice. Philosophers and sociologists have sought to establish and show the extent of how dichotomies create artificial barriers in capturing socioeconomic realities. Tacit acceptance of dichotomies without questioning conventional methods, norms, and methodologies has opened a space for *precise* economic modeling, yet has failed to capture reality. Reality is ambiguous. Exploration of dichotomies in real-life experiences provides significant insights into these ambiguities. For instance, possible cooperation and continuity between unpaid/paid and economic/non-economic factors have been at the center of feminist work (Ferber & Nelson, 1993; Kuiper et al., 1995; Strassmann, 1994). Feminist economists have been deconstructing dichotomies in economics. Because they hold varied political and philosophical stances,[44] they have pursued several routes to this

[44] Feminist economists are influenced by different feminist theories (Tong, 1989; Jaggar, 1983). Tong's (1989) "Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction" discusses different feminist approaches: liberal, radical, Marxist, socialist, psychoanalytic, existential, and postmodern. Quite a number of feminist

goal. Two main routes are clear in the feminist economics literature. The first is the critique of the Marxist concept of class analysis, which introduces gender analysis focused on husband-and-wife relations within the household given the capitalist and patriarchal forces at play, known as the domestic labor debate of the 1970s. Socialist, Marxist, materialist,[45] radical, and psychoanalytical feminists were involved in this debate. The second route is the critique of the neoclassical household model and the domain of economics (Jefferson & King, 2004). Both groups use gender as the main category of analysis, yet they differ in their conceptualization of it. Nevertheless, the underlying main premise for both approaches is the reestablishment of the connection between (false) dichotomies such as reproduction[46]/production, paid/unpaid, monetary/nonmonetary, economic/noneconomic, and private/public. The first step toward equality for all women is to break these oppositions and create a new pathway for coexistence.

The production boundary, in fact, is a historically fluid concept. It is crucial to recognize the historical progression of boundaries and definitions in the context of the history of economic thought. A major dichotomy between productive and unproductive (reproductive) labor regarding how economists define economic activity has been an evolving issue. Brennan (2006) investigated selected writings of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, Nassau Senior, W. Stanley Jevons, and Alfred Marshall to illustrate how over time, the meanings given to "labor," "employment," "income," "consumption," and

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economists base their methodological and philosophical stance on liberal feminism. This paper's methodological and philosophical stance is based on socialist feminism.

[45] Socialist, Marxist, and materialist feminists share similarities. Gimenez (1998) discusses the differences and similarities among the three.

[46] Lourdes Beneria (1979) defines reproduction in three ways: biological reproduction, reproduction of labor power, and reproduction of communities and societies (social reproduction).

"capital" have paved the way. He argues that historically, economic boundaries have never been clear-cut and often have been in a state of flux. Only in the recent past (post-WWII) has the concept of a "production boundary" or "System of National Accounts" (SNA) dominated economic inquiry, and SNA philosophy and methods have undergone changes and revisions in that time (Antonopoulos, 2007). There is always room for change within these fluid boundaries as long as academic, policy, research, and activist groups are able to relentlessly push new ideas, applications, and outcomes into their larger political and social environment.

Harding (1995) criticizes the lack of objectivity in Western science from a postmodernist perspective. Her arguments strongly support feminist standpoint theory. Using standpoint theory, Harding argues that scholars have an epistemological responsibility to be careful in reflecting the social setup of their theories (in other words, social assumptions guiding their theories) which she calls "strong reflexivity"—strong in the sense that scholars' personal experience and knowledge base may play a strong role in their production of knowledge through a reflexive process. In other words, Harding aims to eliminate the control of objectivity by a single hegemonic worldview. Only in this way, according to Harding, can objectivity be maximized. This view thoroughly contradicts the implication of modern science that scientists can and should achieve neutrality. Rather, Harding emphasizes that objectivity should not exclude social factors in the process of knowledge production. Neutrality is an illusion created to keep power in the hands of the powerful, while keeping others in their place, she argues. Her point can be further explained with the fact that everyone has implicit or explicit biases, which are formed within the power dynamics of a group or a society historically and systematically.

At best, only a weak objectivity can result when perspectives or biases are hidden that have helped to reflexively craft a supposedly neutral perspective. Harding argues that to more truly achieve objectivity, one should start by directly including the lived experiences of the dominated. Rather than presenting assumptions as representative of all people, the methodology she uses—which she terms "deconstructive strategy"—considers the experiences of people of color and people of different ethnicities, poor people, and sexual minorities. Her view deviates from the foundations of economics toward the antifoundational, inhabiting a space between the two. She maintains that standpoint theory, in order to achieve what she calls "strong objectivity," is a more useful comprehensive method for capturing reality. Her advocacy of standpoint theory is in part a struggle against the "illiteracy of the elite," meaning lack of awareness about what they are doing and thinking, and the belief that the way they are thinking and acting is the only possible way. Harding emphasizes this methodology as one dimension by which that feminism contributes to the social sciences, and she argues for interdisciplinary analysis that incorporates perspectives from sociology, history, and philosophy into economics in order to achieve greater objectivity. In this sense, as Harding argues, feminism also brings objectivity to all of these sciences, revealing the androcentric social values embedded in them. She adds that feminism exposes the role of gender dynamics in history and in all sciences. With feminism, history becomes different from the conventional interpretation of what the field represents. Further, Harding emphasizes that reflexivity is required in the experience of teaching, leading her to underscore the significance of pedagogy in knowledge production. Knowledge, according to her, is experience. It is cumulative and socially produced. Even theorists using empirical

evidence carry in themselves their society's value sets. These value sets determine their theories at the level of choosing which observations they should use. Knowledge changes the world, but moreover, knowledge changes itself. Within the feminist standpoint theory, feminist knowledge without positivist propositions, such as neutrality, provides a stronger level of objectivity in the sciences.

From the time when Aristotle parsed science into separate disciplines, separating social sciences from natural sciences, objectivity and methodology have been extensively discussed. This division of disciplines instilled flaws in all of the sciences, particularly the social sciences. Since then, the social sciences have sought to understand and explain human relations and society, yet have been unable of capturing a realistic worldview. This separation of disciplines is, as Harding notes, criticized by feminist theorists. Economics in particular is the most problematic discipline in the social sciences.

All of these developments have led to the separation of economic life from social life. The dimension of social life is entirely missing in mainstream economics, which employs self-interest and methodological individualism as a basis for inquiry. Positivist claims in economics had been criticized by many scholars even before feminism and feminist economics emerged, particularly by Polanyi, Marx, Marxist scholars, and heterodox economists. However, as Folbre argues (1985), these scholars do not consider gendered relations as affecting economic life. She emphasizes that the expansion of wage labor due to industrialization, together with the gendered division of labor, promoted the conceptualization of men's production as productive labor and women's as unproductive. This dichotomy requires a different mode of analysis—one that explores the complex relations among all categories of analysis used in economics (such as gender, class, race,

and ethnicity) and all socially constructed categories and institutions (such as the market, government, family, and charity) rather than choosing one among them to analyze. Only in this way can economics dispense with the absurdity of neutrality and achieve real objectivity.

As mentioned, by revealing the lack of objectivity in conventional economics, feminist economics generates progressive intuitions for making economic study more objective by extending its context and bringing it closer to reality. Again, it is obvious that in terms of worldview, far more common ground exists between feminist economics and Marxist economics—as well as between feminist economics and heterodox economics, including old institutional economics and Keynesian economics—than between feminist and mainstream economics,[47] Regarding methodology (i.e., excluding the category of analysis, gender is the one that is common to all) feminist economics has become thoroughly diversified because it includes both quantitative and qualitative analysis, with both historical and sociological perspectives, while at the same time considering all individuals' experience as information, analyzing the institution of the family but in a much broader sense. It engages in nothing as exact as economic modeling. All of these factors are what make feminist economics progressive. Nonetheless, some postmodern feminist studies using the methodology of deconstruction become so subjective that they do not reach any economic conclusions and just try to understand the world as it is, generally concluding that we cannot understand reality in an objective way

[47] Ironically, some studies use methodological individualism for analyzing economics strictly from the exchange market point of view. These attempts lead to inconsistencies in some studies in the field of feminist analysis or, rather, studies that are posited as examples of feminist analysis but actually represent a divergent worldview, meaning feminist economists should be discerning in their choice of texts on which to rely.

and defining terms accordingly, which raises questions like, "So what?" Other than legitimizing the status quo, these types of analysis cannot generate solutions to any problem. Crafting new definitions or transforming existing ones is acceptable, but that alone, or coupled with rhetorical analysis, leads science nowhere except to new black holes, allowing certain scholars to keep hegemonic power in their hands. This last point is as convincingly applicable to mainstream scholars as their propensity for presenting theoretical constructions that are completely unrealistic but are perceived as superior due to the mathematical expressions used, and which are perpetually creating new research areas within the new classical school and studies of real business cycles, governance, and asymmetric information.

In this research, following in Hardings' footsteps regarding reflexivity and objectivity, I started with self-awareness by owning my story in the process of research while hearing the lived experiences of the dominated—the evlatlıks, in this case. I was brought up by an evlatlık in an upper-middle-class Turkish nuclear family with strong ties to my mother's side of the extended family. The extended family consisted of the matriarchs: my great-grandmother, grandmother, great-aunt, and aunt. All were widows at a young age except for my great-aunt, who never married. My parents, both university educated, are from the first generation of the Turkish Republic and can be identified as secular Muslims, or Kemalist. My parents worked as lawyers at a government agency for intercity and interregional road construction (*Karayolları*). While building their careers from the late 1950s to the late 1960s, they also started a family, having three children. Everything went quite smoothly in terms of family and career building. This family had the most precious form of support to run the household: the unpaid, live-in domestic

workers, a support system for many families in Turkey. Girls were brought into my family and my aunt's family through the city hospital, where my uncle (her husband) worked as the chief pediatrician. Some of the girls (of a total of 7) were sick children from surrounding villages. They were brought to the hospital with no intention of being returned to their village. Others were brought to the hospital by their families to find a home to live in as servants. Table 2 shows some characteristics of evlatlıks. These characteristics will be further described under the section "Evlatlıks and Wellbeing" in chapter 5.

My *abla (older sister)*, who carried the responsibilities of all of the housework and raised three children including myself, had been left in the hospital with pneumonia when she was five years old. Like the other three ablas in my aunt's house, my abla was the best cook, cleaner, organizer, entertainer, launderer, and baker imaginable. It is impossible to assign a value to the care that she provided to the entire family. If it was, we would not be able to pay what we owed her. The social relations that have sustained this family and the entire community have always fascinated me. The most important aspect of the domestic workers' situation is that they use the most fundamental resources of all: their own labor-power as well as personhood (Anderson, 2002). However, their "product" or "output," if we use a market-based language, is not tangible; it is not a commodity. Their product is the reproduction of human beings, families, communities, and societies. Their product has been taken for granted.

Table 1. Characteristics of evlatlıks

	Means of Reaching	Place of Interview	Birth Place	Ethnic Origin	Age at the Time of Interview	Age at Becoming an Evlatlık	Total Years of Schooling	Loss of Parent(s)	Number of Biological Siblings	Years in Pseudo-Family	Oldest, Youngest, or Middle Child
P1	Evlatlık who raised me	Mersin	Agri *	Kurdish	58	5 or 6	Literacy course	Father	1 younger brother	23	Older
P2	Aunt's house	Mersin	Beylice	Turkish	69	5 or 6	3 years of primary	Mother	1 sister , 1 brother	22	youngest
P3	Great aunt's house	Mersin	Inkoy	Turkish	64	5 or 6	Literacy course	Mother	3 sisters, 1 brother	19	2nd-oldest
P4	Aunt's house	Mersin	Silifke	Turkish	62?	5 or 6	Literacy course	Mother	2 sisters, 1 brother	15?	2nd-oldest
P5	Aunt's house	Mersin	Mut	Turkish	50?	5 or 6	Literacy course	Both	No	17–18?	?
P6	Neighbor	Istanbul	Afsun	Turkish	52	9	Literacy course	None	2 brothers, 4 sisters	15	Youngest
P7	Neighbor	Mersin	Silifke	Turkish	48	5 or 6	Literacy course	None	5 sisters , 2 brothers	23	2nd-oldest
P8	Distant relative	Adana	Silifke	Turkish	49	5 or 6	3 years of primary	None	2 brothers, 6 sisters	11*	Middle
P9	Snowball	Ankara	Kadirli	Turkish	37	11	High school	Mother	7 siblings	13	Middle
P10	Snowball	Mugla	Tokacli	Turkish	49	5 or 6	Literacy course	Mother	2 twin sisters	15*	Oldest
P11	Snowball	Alanya	Mahmutlar	Turkish	37	5 or 6	5 years of primary	None	4 sisters, 3 brothers	13–14	Middle
P12	Snowball	Alanya	Koy?	Turkish	66–68	5	No schooling	None	?	21	?
P13	Snowball	Alanya	Gazipasa	Turkish	51	7	5 years of primary	Father	6 siblings	18	Middle
P14	Neighbor	Mersin	Anamur	Turkish	34	10	5 years of primary	Mother	2 sisters, 1 brother	14	2nd-oldest
P15	Neighbor	Mersin	Anamur	Turkish	60	5 or 6	5 years of primary	None	2 step-siblings? 3 sisters , 3 brothers	18	2nd-oldest
P16	Snowball	Ceyhan	Koy	Turkish	42	7	5 years of primary	Mother	3 sisters	8	2nd-oldest
P17	Neighbor	Mersin	Silifke	Turkish	55?	5 or 6	Literacy course	Mother	3sister, 1 brother	23	Middle
P18	Snowball	Alanya	Alanya Ilce?	Turkish	32?	5 or 6	2 years of lessons	Mother?	5 siblings	Still lives there	Middle
P19	Snowball	Tarsus	Osmaniye	Not known	45	5 or 6	Literacy course	Both	4 siblings	25	Middle
P20	Snowball	Tarsus	Tarsus	Turkish	55	5 or 6	Literacy course	None	?	23	Oldest
P21	Snowball	Mersin	Tarsus	Turkish	45	5 or 6	Literacy course	None	3 sisters	18	Middle
P22	Snowball	Mersin	Mersin	Turkish	60	5 or 6	Literacy course	Father	3 siblings	27	Oldest

5 MAIN FINDINGS

This study has explored the participants' experiences as evlatlıks, after they had experienced three stages of their lives. First, they were daughters in their biological households. Next, they were unpaid domestic laborers (pseudo-daughters/sisters) in pseudo-households. Finally, they were wives in their own households after marriage. In each phase, there were different reasons why some capability sets could not be achieved. The three phases represent the changing roles of evlatlıks in different households. One role that does not change for evlatlıks is the responsibility for unpaid domestic labor. It is not possible for an individual to achieve certain functionings if that person's major economic activity takes place in the household as a domestic laborer. During all three phases through which relations changed in the evlatlıks' lives, they were responsible for domestic labor. Intra- as well as interhousehold relations between biological, pseudo, and their own households were shaped and reshaped by this responsibility.

The majority of participants in this study are from the Mediterranean region in Turkey. Participants from Mersin, Tarsus, Adana, and Alanya dominate the study. I have known all of the participants but five from my childhood. I spent multiple days with the participants to catch up on the last 25 to 30 years. Each person has unique relationships with her pseudo, current, and biological families. The repeating theme is the oppression evlatlıks faced while living in a so-called safe home with enough food and clothing.

Half of the participants would never send off their children as evlatlıks. Nine participants said they might consider it. Two participants were not asked this question (see Table 3).

In the following section, titled "Evlatlıks and Wellbeing," the three phases of the evlatlıks' life stories are structured and analyzed according to the list of basic capabilities identified by Martha Nussbaum (2004) and Ingrid Robeyns (2003) in Table 4. This list of capabilities is used as an assessment tool for examining the collected stories in order to understand evlatlıks' wellbeing in the different households where they lived.

Evlatlıks and Wellbeing

Some characteristics and patterns emerged from the in-depth interviews, participant observation, and my own life experiences. These patterns can be broadly divided into four categories: a) supply of female youth labor from biological families. Rural families send their daughters (i.e., give up their daughters) to pseudo-families for several reasons, such as: the mother and/or father are deceased; they have high expectations that their daughter will have a better education, marriage, or future; or their poor, vulnerable rural community has no subsidies from the government to raise children. b) demand from pseudo-families. These households cite the following reasons for "bringing" a girl into the household: charity; tradition; status; the modernization of the housewife, meaning that dirty chores should not be done by her (reflecting the perception of evlatlıks), leading housewives from well-off households to recruit girls from poor families to do such chores. c) process in the pseudo-household. The hard life and work in pseudo-households is characterized by a low level of material gain with high emotional loss (with few exceptions); better nutrition, adequate clothing, better shelter, and

sanitation provided by the pseudo-household; tough and inferior sleeping arrangements; inferior eating arrangements; emotional scars due to intentional isolation from the biological family; bad treatment that may include mental and physical abuse; limited access to education. d) Role as housewives in own family. Conflict with husbands due to their evlatlık history; the children of evlatlıks becoming upwardly mobile (with exceptions), a benefit of the networks of their pseudo-families. All participants originated from rural areas. All, except for one who declared her ethnicity as Kurdish, presented themselves as Turkish. Their current ages (as of 2004) ranged from 32 to 69, with a mean of 51 years. Seventeen of 22 arrived at the pseudo-family house between the ages 5–7. Only 5 of 22 finished 5 years of primary education, which was mandatory and free at the time when the evlatlıks were school-age children. (Now the mandatory number of years is eight.) The remaining participants had no schooling or literacy courses. For 13 of the 22 participants, either the mother, father, or both parents had died before the girls left their biological households. Ten of them had lost mothers only, two had lost fathers only, and one had lost both. The average number of sibling was 5.5. Most siblings stayed in the rural village. Girls mostly married in the village, and boys went to nearby cities to find employment. Most siblings are subsistence farmers. Only three participants are the youngest of all their siblings. Twelve of the 22 participants were the middle child or youngest in the family. There were only four participants whose siblings were also evlatlıks. There was only one participant who had lived less than 10 years in a pseudo-family household. Most participants had lived for 15 to 25 years with a pseudo-family. It is not a stretch to infer from the 17 prospective participants who declined to be interviewed that the practice created high levels of suffering. Interviews with participants

took a minimum of 3 to 4 hr and a maximum of 3 to 4 days. It was necessary to build relationships with some of the participants in order to conduct interviews. During the interviews, all participants talked about the poor material conditions in their biological households. There was not enough to eat, and most housing conditions were poor. A clear lack of material wellbeing was described without concrete income indicators. Participants were not able to remember the household income in their biological household, since they had left home as 5-, 6-, and 7-year-old girls. Plus, most of the households were those of subsistence farmers. In the biological household, some of the participants' lives had been reduced to finding food for the next meal and fixing the house constantly so it did not leak when it rained or snowed. Life was not worth living. After such material hardship, when the girls lived as evlatlıks under better material conditions, they realized again that their lives were so undermined that they were not worth living. This time suffering was not material but mental, through degrading living arrangements, continued mistreatment and humiliation, assaults on their personhood that deemed them inferiors, and everyday oppression by any means possible. Three of the 22 participants reported having considered suicide while they lived in pseudo-households. Finally, although all participants became evlatlıks due to the lack of ability to meet their basic needs in their biological households, not all of their siblings became evlatlıks.

The main finding of this study is that the majority of participants did not experience an increase in their wellbeing as a result of having lived as evlatlıks during their childhood: Only 3 participants of 22 described increased overall wellbeing in their experiences as evlatlıks. Most of the other participants' stories offered mixed results and/or reflected decreased wellbeing. The majority of the evlatlıks' lives in pseudo-

households caused them a significant loss of self-esteem and dignity, absence of positive feelings, lack of autonomy, lack of trust and belonging, lack of competence, and lack of prolonged social support. There is, however, some intergenerational expansion in capabilities. Although the children of the evlatlıks were not part of the study, almost all of the participants talked about their children. Some of the evlatlıks reported very positive developments in their children's lives due to highly targeted support from the pseudo-families. Overall, the results propose that charity and good intentions cannot provide sustained progress for wellbeing, unless these intentions focus on people's functioning and capabilities. After analyzing each participant's experiences from the biological to their own household using the CA list, Table 5 displays the life stories audit of the evlatlıks—that is, each evlatlık's experiences as a young girl in her biological household, as an unpaid domestic laborer in a pseudo-household, and as a wife in her own household. In other words, Table 5 is the summary of the capabilities developed through the life cycle.

During the interviews, participants expressed their level of satisfaction regarding their doings and beings in each household. NOT SATISFIED means the majority of participants were not able to be and/or do the capabilities in question. SATISFIED means the majority of participants were able to be and do, and expand, the capabilities in question even if it resulted in some negative consequences. HIGHLY SATISFIED means the majority of participants were able to be and do the capability in question. While telling their stories about the pseudo-household, participants frequently compared themselves with the sibling they had left at their village and/or other evlatlıks with whom they socialized. In many cases, they did not recall details about the quality of life in their

biological household since they left at such an early age, from 5 to 7 years old. That is why there are several "Not Applicable" (NA) signs under the biological HH column in Table 5. The pseudo HH column shows that evlatlıks in general had low levels of capability development. When they move into their own households after marriage, their ability to be and do increased somewhat for the entire group. There were three participants who were fully satisfied in Phase II and highly satisfied in Phase III. Nineteen of the 22 participants were not satisfied in Phase II and somewhat satisfied in Phase III. Those 3 participants praised their pseudo-mothers and fathers substantially. Dominant themes in their stories included gaining self-esteem and dignity, experiencing more positive feelings than negative ones. They felt a level of autonomy, trust, and belonging. They built competence. From the early years of joining the pseudo-household, they received social support from the family and its network. The other 19 participants did not have supportive relationships with any pseudo-family members. They accumulated negative emotional wellbeing that still impacts their lives today.

Phase I: Biological Household

Throughout the interviews, participants usually talked about their experiences in the pseudo-households while linking them to the events in their biological as well as their own households. Thirteen of 22 participants expressed that attaining capability for life and physical health in the biological household was unlikely. Two participants made the following statements:

> After my father died, we did not earn much from growing citrus or banana. My brothers and uncles took over. We lived very comfortably before his death. But I was in Alanya (pseudo-household) when these changes happened in the village. I

> was not able to be healthy and enjoy a normal life anymore in my village; therefore, I stayed in the pseudo-household. (P12)

> We were so poor. I remember that we did not have enough to eat for each meal, so we ate less in every meal to have something to eat in the next meal. Food was something we constantly thought about, where to find ingredients for the next meal. (P18)

Nevertheless, several evlatlıks who had deep emotional scars argued that their sisters and brothers were much better off even with limited access to basic needs:

> I have not forgiven my mother to this day. I could have eaten a piece of bread with them. I could have drank water for some meals. Why did she give me away? Why? My siblings who remained in my biological households were happily married and in a better material and especially a better emotional state than me. (P5).

If biological parents could provide for their material being, evlatlıks would likely not suffer what they have suffered in pseudo-households.

> I could never understand why we were so poor. Why did my father or mother not work? There was not much work in the village but we also did not have land to cultivate, maybe a few chickens to look after. It was not enough. We did not have a cow or a goat. If we had a little piece of land, everything would be different. (P18)

According to participants, it was simple logic. If their parents had some kind of livelihood, they could have provided them with necessary life and health support. This situation creates justification for pseudo-families. They argue that their goodwill act had a solid foundation:

> I was very convinced about the fact that these kids needed me. When I went down to the village, (P11) and her sister were sitting in front of a cave-like, mud house. They were with their grandmother... I brought her home, cleaned the fleas of her, cut her hair, and dressed her up. She looked like a human being. (P11's pseudo-mother)

Phase II: Pseudo-Household

In this section, I elaborate on the experiences of the evlatlıks within the pseudo-household. The stories of 22 participants reveal that they were deprived of mental wellbeing, emotions, social relations, respect, and practical reason. They did not have control over their own time, mobility, or even bodily integrity and safety in a large number of cases. One participant said,

> We were not stupid; we know where we came from. But we needed some level of respect. Respect as a human being. That did not exist. Otherwise, why not. We had better conditions, better shelter. We did not worry about the next meal. (P13)

Another stated,

> I feel like puking when I remember those days. We were fed like dogs. The grandmother of the house soaked dried out bread into the left over meals and set it aside for a while.... I see these days, animals are actually treated much better than how we were treated. (P1)

Another participant said,

> The families started to accept us at their dinner table after the boys grew up. We believe that the boys influenced their parents. Since we raised them we were emotionally attached. (One evlatlık, (P8), made this statement and other two others, P16 and P17, agreed.)

Still another stated,

> I just cannot understand why they didn't send us to school. It was even a challenge to go to the literacy courses. They had it at the local primary school from 5−7pm three times a week. I never had time to do homework or go to the classes on time. How could I finish work at 5 p.m. … When I went to change my name on the national identification card last year after my husband died, you know, I did not have my real name on it forever! When the judge asked me about my situation, I could not talk. I would cry if I did. He asked me about the pseudo-family who did not send me to primary school. He said that it was a crime. I said "they are good people." (P1)

Evlatlıks raised problems about their formal education, health, autonomy, dignity, self-respect, access to assets and income, mental health, and access to community

relations during this phase of their lives:

> It is almost like time did not exist in our lives. Every single minute belonged to them. I could not fall asleep, I had to get permission to go to bed. Sleeping arrangements actually made it this way. For a long time, I had a make-shift bed. I had to set it up in the living room after everyone else went to sleep. (P1)

The stories are complicated due to existing power relations within the pseudo-households. The evlatlıks complained about pseudo-mothers more than pseudo-fathers. In fact, the above-mentioned participants continued:

> Abi [the pseudo-father] was much more understanding, He was ready to give me a hand all the time. I remember abla [pseudo-mother] whispered "let her do it by herself; what other things does she have to do....that is her job." (P1)

P8 talked about the same issue in the pseudo-household. She mentioned that the pseudo-father was very soft-spoken and protective toward her. The pseudo-mother always talked down to her, but he tried to argue against it. Most stories around emotional scars, dignity, autonomy, and control were told in the context of the evlatlıks not being treated like human beings:

> She [the pseudo-mother] was a queen in the house and wanted to use me like a dirty rag. (P8)

Another participant stated,

> We were treated so badly. I knew other evlatlıks. Okay, we come from misery and destitution but they did not have to insult us this way. They thought we were mindless. They thought we did not have brains. It is very harsh to be treated like stupid children. It is very degrading. Everyday was misery, real misery! Not what I came from. From when we woke up until late at night. I sometimes asked myself how long I could take this. Why am I doing it? Why did I not escape and go back to my village? (P20)

Another said,

> Abla was always negative. Especially when the children and I were having a good time, she was ready to find something to ruin the moment... Abi and her mother were good people. They supported me. They knew that abla had some problems. (P8)

One pseudo-mother (to P9) told me, knowing that I had lived in a household with multiple evlatlıks*:*

> You would know it so well, it is the hardest thing to adjust. What do you want to do with this studying? It is simple, honey. It is poverty. When people are poor, they need everything. Of course, we were not very rich to provide everything but food, shelter and some support. The poor cannot easily access. You should also talk to us. It is not so easy to raise them. It is a lot of work. A lot of patience is need to deal with them. (P8's pseudo-mother)

Phase III: Own Household

The third phase questions the evlatlıks' relations within their own nuclear households after marriage. Twelve of 22 participants reported that they built stronger relations with their biological families after building their own households. Five of the 22 participants were able to contact their biological family during their life with the pseudo-families. Those five built the best bargaining power within their own households, strengthened both by their biological and pseudo-household relations. One stated:

> I was at least treated like a person. I had to make my own decisions, raise my kids according my own rules. Even though the pseudo-mother was able to make comments about me, I was able to go to my home and shut the door. It was a very liberating point in my life. (P1)

Another stated,

> Sometimes, husbands can be as hard as the pseudo-parents. However, one can talk back and yell at the husband. I know my fellow evlatlık was beaten up by her husband but it is different than being beaten up by the pseudo-mother. I know this is not normal to say but… (P5)

Another said,

> After I got married, Abla asked me to go to her place to prepare dinner for her guests. A few times I said that I could not go. She was resentful. I had a family, a grumpy husband and three kids at home. Every time I went to help out my husband was giving me hard time. If I told him that I would do it, "they are family," he would reply back saying if they were family they could do so and so.…It was hard,

> very hard. I was not doing it to get something back. But if I did not respond positively … I never felt comfortable asking Abla for anything … when boys need something in school, etc. (P8)

Evlatlıks maintained a better social and economic relationship with some of the children they had cared for and nurtured in their pseudo-households than with their pseudo-parents. The new generation has certainly overcome some of the negative aspects of social norms and traditions, especially in terms of attitudes. Nevertheless, upward class mobility is not easy to achieve. Children from pseudo-households certainly developed a different perception about the evlatlık practice from that of their parents, becoming critical of the practice. However, some of them still held the idea that evlatlıks could still accommodate the demands of pseudo-household members all their lives; that they could call on the evlatlıks for various chores as needed. After all, on average, evlatlıks spend 18 years in their pseudo-households. Their role as second-class citizens was carved in the hearts and minds of the children who were raised in those households. At the same time, evlatlıks were erased from the hearts and mind of their own biological families. Most of them had lost control over any kind of inheritance rights from their biological parents. Because they were not present, they lost property rights that were equal to their siblings'. For instance, if there was a small plot of land to share, it was already being cultivated for subsistence farming by the siblings. One participant stated:

> I went to my village last summer. My parents were already dead, but uncles and aunts were alive. Lots of cousins. I also found some siblings. There is some land that was passed over to children. I cannot ask for my share. They live on it and raise farm animals and do farming. (P2)

Table 2. Evlatlıks' life stories

Participant	City of Current Residence	Contact with Biological Household	Current Relation to the Pseudo-Household	Current State in Evlatlık's Own Household	Summary of the Evlatlık's Life and Work	Would You Send Off Your Child as an Evlatlık?
P1	Mersin	Minimal	Tries to stay away from it, except for the children	Widow	"Hell"	Never
P2	Mersin	Recently found	Still involved on a daily basis	Divorced	"Very oppressed but relatively better than previous ones"	Never
P3	Mersin	Regular	Visits	Married	"Sad"	Maybe
P4	Mersin	None	Visits	Happy Marriage	"Mixed emotions"	Maybe
P5	Tarsus	Regular	Visits	Happy Marriage	"Lots of injustices happened"	Never
P6	Istanbul	Minimal	Distant	Widow	"Hard, very hard"	Never
P7	Mersin	Regular	Visits	Married	"I cannot"	Maybe
P8	Mersin	Regular	Still involved	Conflict in marriage	"Why couldn't she be a little understanding?"	Never
P9	Adana	Minimal	Lives very close	Divorced	"I cannot forgive my mother"	Never
P10	Ankara	None	Distant	Happy marriage	"She was a good woman"	Never
P11	Mugla	None	Still involved on a daily basis	Married	"Silence….a long silence"	Maybe
P12	Alanya	Regular	Visits	Happy marriage	"It was okay"	Maybe

Table 2. (continued)

Participant	City of Current Residence	Contact with Biological Household	Current Relation to the Pseudo-Household	Current State in Evlatlık's Own Household	Summary of the Evlatlık's Life and Work	Would You Send Off Your Child as an Evlatlık?
P13	Alanya	Minimal	Visits	Widow	"I do not know how"	Maybe
P14	Alanya	Minimal	Visits	Single	"It is confusing"	Never
P15	Alanya	Regular	Visits	Divorced	"They should have sent us to school"	Never
P16	Mersin	Regular	Visits	Happy marriage	"Better than being on the streets"	Maybe
P17	Mersin	Regular	Visits	Happy marriage	You have to protect yourself"	Maybe
P18	Ceyhan	Regular	Visits	Widow	"Good people, but…."	Never
P19	Tarsus	Regular	Visits	Happy marriage	"Summarize? Well……"	Maybe
P20	Tarsus	None	Still involved	Widow	"Didn't I just tell you everything?"	Never
P21	Mersin	None	Visits	Divorced	N/A	N/A
P22	Mersin	None	Visits	Widow	N/A	N/A

Table 3. List of capabilities

1. Life and Physical Health: Being able to be physically healthy and enjoy a life of normal length, not dying prematurely, or *before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.* Adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
2. Reproductive Health: Being able to gain knowledge about sexual and reproductive health; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
3. Education and Knowledge: Being able to be educated and to use and produce knowledge.
4. Mental Wellbeing: Being able to be mentally healthy. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason, and to do these things in a "truly human" way, informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including but by no means limited to literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.
5. Bodily Integrity and Safety: Being able to be protected from violence of any sort, including sexual assault and domestic violence.
6. Mobility: Being able to be mobile.
7. Emotions: Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety.
8. Social Relations and Respect: Being able to be part of social networks and to give and receive social support. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others; being able to be respected and treated with dignity; feeling sense of family.
9. Practical Reason: Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)
10. Political Empowerment: Being able to participate in and have a fair share of influence on political decision-making. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association.
11. Other Species: Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
12. Leisure Activities: Being able to engage in leisure activities; being able to laugh, to play, and to enjoy non-work hours.
13. Time Autonomy: The ability to exercise autonomy in allocating one's time.
14. Control Over One's Material Being: Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and have property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others.
15. Religion: Being able to choose to live or not live according to a religion.

Table 4. The CA framework: Summary of the capabilities through life cycle

Lisf of Capabilities	PHASE I Biological HH	PHASE II Pseudo-HH	PHASE III Own HH
Life and Physical Health	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Reproductive Health	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Education and Knowledge	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED
Mental Wellbeing	SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Bodily Integrity and Safety	SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Mobility	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Emotions	HIGHLY SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Social Relations and Respect	N/A	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED
Practical Reason	N/A	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Political Involvement	N/A	NOT SATISFIED	SATISFIED
Other Species	N/A	N/A	N/A
Leisure Activities	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	HIGHLY SATISFIED
Time Autonomy	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED
Control Over One's Material Being	SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED
Religion	N/A	N/A	N/A

6. CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined the contribution of the evlatlık institution to the wellbeing of evlatlıks, over and above its contribution to relieving the livelihood stresses of their biological families and to securing the reproductive labor needs of pseudo-families who rely on evlatlık labor. Based on primary research in 2004–2005 in the southern (Mediterranean region) of Turkey, this study has generated evidence using the capabilities framework of evaluation of wellbeing changes. Several interesting findings emerged from this study. In a nutshell, the findings include improvement in intergenerational wellbeing, as evidenced by the creation of strong social networks for young girls from rural areas and a decline in fertility rates, but there was no major change in schooling levels attained, and mixed findings regarding access to resources. These patterns underline the inseparability of basic needs and capabilities approaches in poverty and vulnerability debates. Another emerging pattern is the ongoing conflict between the high- and middle-class women in pseudo-families and the lower-class women. Both oppressor (housewife) and the oppressed (evlatlık) have internalized patriarchy to the extent that they believe and value the male breadwinner while not valuing their own domestic labor.

All but two participants have been domestic laborers all through their lives. They have never shed their "dependent" identity, having worked as unpaid domestic laborer both in pseudo-households and their own households. Throughout their lives, the poverty

experienced by evlatlıks was mostly based on non-material dimensions in the pseudo household. They did not have autonomy and lacked access to resources to achieve capabilities. Their achievement of capabilities (their functioning levels) in several dimensions was contingent on the type of relationship built between the pseudo-family and the evlatlık. Basically, they were expected to compromise in order to get out of income/consumption poverty. This compromise turned out to be a vicious cycle for most evlatlıks, since the intention of most pseudo-families was not to achieve socioeconomic justice for the evlatlık. Former pseudo-family members interviewed for the study are convinced that their provision of basic needs to evlatlıks is a fundamental contribution, and that they have fulfilled their philanthropic goal. Evlatlıks' stories, on the other hand, challenge the pseudo-family perspectives on poverty by emphasizing broader dimensions of deprivation—human poverty.

Domestic labor is the coping mechanism for maintaining the livelihoods of families, and work and life balance, yet at the same time, women's socialization into empathy is one reason why women get stuck doing domestic labor. Innovative thought is essential to empower women to avoid such a cycle. In my view, valuation of housework is possible and is already being done; aggressive political work is urgently needed to promote measurement and recognition of unpaid housework.

This study sheds light on a form of unpaid work that is invisible and motivates a new type of analysis. The invisibility comes from the way in which the wellbeing of a country and societies at large are assessed. Certain sectors, activities, and indicators are considered in the assessments of gender, poverty, and wellbeing, while many contributors to wellbeing are left out. Even though the importance of the details of gender relations are

acknowledged in gender and poverty and wellbeing studies, a deeper understanding of these relations has yet to be captured and brought to light. Above all, a higher level of awareness has to be achieved among women from all social classes.

Adopting the capabilities approach is central to understanding how the personhood of a woman (or man, for that matter) can be removed in practice in the evlatlık institution. In this study, we see such removal achieved through emotional means and justified through the provision of material needs. There were 3 participants who were fully satisfied in Phase II in the pseudo-family household as evlatlıks and highly satisfied in Phase III of their own family lives. As they tell their stories, they report the importance of the capabilities they achieved as fair and just outcomes of their evlatlık experience. The rest of the participants carry deep emotional scars, which have hampered their overall wellbeing. If the capabilities approach is meant to assist in developing policy recommendations for all women and girls from diverse backgrounds, then the process and outcomes of wellbeing have to target the emotional wellbeing of individual people and society as well as their physical wellbeing. This is a huge paradigm shift for academic and political spaces.

In this research, I did not expect to find even three fully satisfied participants. Their experiences in the pseudo-households and the details of their relationships give some hope for the betterment of gender and class conflicts. It is possible for the evlatlık institution to contribute to young women's self-esteem, dignity, the presence of positive feelings (and the absence of negative ones), autonomy, trust and belonging, competence, and prolonged social support.

Future Research

Future research would involve participation of the pseudo-families, especially those who created positive processes and outcomes for the evlatlıks, and identification of the changes in the institution. Beyond this form of labor, as mentioned at the beginning, paid domestic work relations also are the sites of similar relationships to those described in the evlatlık institution. Domestic labor processes and outcomes will continue to impact women in Turkey and around the world as part of the fabric and understanding of wellbeing at the personal and social level. All forms of domestic labor need to be examined for the wellbeing they potentially generate for those who perform domestic labor.

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